

1988

# Social influence on decision-making in The Toronto Star newsroom.

Joe. Fox  
*University of Windsor*

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholar.uwindsor.ca/etd>

---

## Recommended Citation

Fox, Joe., "Social influence on decision-making in The Toronto Star newsroom." (1988). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 3491.

This online database contains the full-text of PhD dissertations and Masters' theses of University of Windsor students from 1954 forward. These documents are made available for personal study and research purposes only, in accordance with the Canadian Copyright Act and the Creative Commons license—CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution, Non-Commercial, No Derivative Works). Under this license, works must always be attributed to the copyright holder (original author), cannot be used for any commercial purposes, and may not be altered. Any other use would require the permission of the copyright holder. Students may inquire about withdrawing their dissertation and/or thesis from this database. For additional inquiries, please contact the repository administrator via email ([scholarship@uwindsor.ca](mailto:scholarship@uwindsor.ca)) or by telephone at 519-253-3000ext. 3208.



National Library  
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada  
K1A 0N4

## NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

## AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, tests publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

Social Influences on Decision-Making  
In The Toronto Star Newsroom

by  
Joe Fox

A Thesis  
submitted to the  
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
through the Department of  
Communication Studies in partial fulfillment  
of the requirement for the Degree  
of Master of Arts  
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada  
1988

(c) Joe Fox 1988

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-48145-5



I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis.

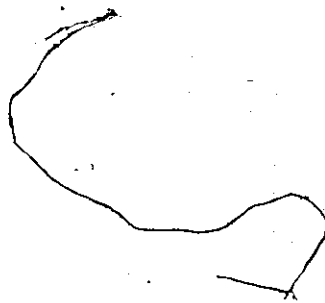
I authorize the University of Windsor to lend this thesis to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Joe Fox

I further authorize the University of Windsor to reproduce this thesis by photocopying or other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Joe Fox

The University of Windsor requires the signatures of all persons using or photocopying this thesis. Please sign below, and give address and date



## ABSTRACT

Researchers into news coverage by newspapers and other media tend to concentrate on content analysis, the audiences' perceptions of the content and the effects of the news media. Studies into influences on news coverage have mainly concentrated on external influences rather than internal factors within news organizations that affect journalists' actions. Warren Breed broke ground in this area in a 1952 PhD Thesis entitled "The Newspaperman, News and Society" and a subsequent journal article, "Social Control in the Newsroom." Virtually no research has been done to test Breed's conclusions that all newspapers have a news policy and that it is enforced through social control.

This study replicates Breed's work. But, while Breed conducted interviews at 120 small and medium papers in the northeastern United States and came to conclusions he applied the whole industry, this study instead concentrates on one newspaper, The Toronto Star, Canada's largest newspaper. Its findings relate only to The Toronto Star, but hopefully are relevant for other news organizations. It was a goal of the researcher to produce results useful to working journalists as well as to other researchers. Like Breed's study, this work is primarily concerned with how news policy is implemented. Significant concern expressed by several public figures over The Toronto Star's coverage of the debate over the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement serves to illustrate the importance of the topic and the relevance of studying influences on news coverage within news media organizations.

The author is a copy editor at The Toronto Star. Original research is based on results of an anonymous questionnaire mailed to editorial employees that tested five hypotheses suggested by Breed's work, plus a sixth suggested in the literature as a potentially useful remedy to some of the problems news policy creates for concerned journalists.

Analysis of the data supports all six hypotheses and revealed an area of influence on the news not emphasized by Breed. The study concluded that there is a news policy at The Toronto Star that affects news coverage; that staffers learn the policy through an informal socialization process and that they conform to it because of norms established by their membership group. But it also found staffers are able to bypass the policy at times and can continue to work at the newspaper in good conscience. Responses indicated there is a strong influence by senior editors who are perceived by the staff as "second-guessing" the publisher's wishes when policy is absent, vague, or misperceived. In addition, it was found that staffers have a strong desire for more consultation with senior editors and it is concluded that a formal consultative process would ease problems created by the enforcement of news policy.

The study indicates that internal influences within news organizations merit further study, especially in regard to the rôle played by senior editors.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is an unusual thesis in a number of ways and would not have been possible without the co-operation of a large number of people.

Special thanks is due to Dr. Walter Romanow who not only acted as a patient and hard-working chairman of my thesis committee, but was responsible for convincing a young reporter at The Windsor Star to enrol for part-time study in the Communication Studies Department at the University of Windsor and then to complete the thesis requirement several years later. My gratitude is also extended to the other members of my advisory committee: Dr. Stuart H. Surlin, Dr. Walter C. Soderlund and Prof. Kai Hildebrandt.

Thanks also to Heather Gillis for her wizardry with statistics and the computer; and to the secretarial staff of the Communication Studies Department, especially Ann Gallant, who helped smooth the many problems of writing a thesis 250 miles away from the university.

The Southern Ontario Newspaper Guild has my gratitude for letting me use their mailing list. The Guild staff's help was invaluable.

This project also would not have been possible without the understanding of my wife, Dolly, and children, Allyson, Matthew and Martin for my time spent in libraries and at the keyboard instead of with them.

And lastly, my sincere appreciation is acknowledged for the time and effort spend by 109 journalists at The Toronto Star who answered the questionnaire on which the research is based.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Abstract .....	iv
Acknowledgements .....	v
I. Introduction .....	1
1. Issue to be studied .....	1
2. Significance of study .....	16
3. Special problems .....	28
II. Review of the literature: A socio-industrial context...	43
1. Social control .....	44
2. Reference groups .....	50
3. Groupthink .....	52
4. Business management .....	56
5. Worker participation .....	62
III. Review of the literature: A communication studies and journalism context .....	74
1. Social control .....	74
2. Role of the publisher and other managers .....	95
3. Role of journalists .....	104
4. Boosterism .....	115
5. Gatekeeper studies .....	120
6. Organizational restraints on newswork .....	122
7. Newsroom management .....	129
8. Democracy in the newsroom .....	134
9. "Professionalism," objectivity and bias .....	143
10. News as a value .....	159
IV. The <u>Toronto Star</u> news policy: A context for this study	180
V. The study and analysis .....	215
1. Hypotheses .....	215
2. Methodology .....	216
3. Questionnaire .....	219
4. Response .....	220
5. Results and analysis .....	222
(i) Hypothesis One .....	224
(ii) Hypothesis Two .....	229
(a) Formal indications of policy .....	231
(b) Informal socialization process .....	232
(c) Story assignment process .....	235
(d) The editing process .....	237

(iii) Hypothesis Three .....	240
(iv) Hypothesis Four .....	244
(v) Hypothesis Five .....	251
(vi) Hypothesis Six .....	257
(vii) Additional factors .....	259
(a) Organizational influence on conformity to policy .....	259
(b) Hiring and firing .....	263
(c) Financial incentives to conform .....	266
(viii) Miscellaneous comments by respondents .....	268
(ix) Publisher's comments .....	269
VI. Conclusions, implications and recommendations .....	280
1. Conclusions .....	280
2. Implications of the study .....	288
(i) Implications for readers of <u>The Star</u> (and other newspapers) .....	288
(ii) Implications for journalists at <u>The Star</u> (and other newspapers) .....	289
(iii) Implications for management at <u>The Star</u> (and perhaps other newspapers) .....	289
(iv) Implications for academics .....	290
3. Recommendations .....	291
4. Suggestions for further study .....	307
Bibliography .....	312
Appendix A Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers Association Statement of Principles .....	327
Appendix B <u>Toronto Star</u> Policy Manual Statement of Principles .....	329
Appendix C <u>Toronto Star</u> Statement of Editorial Aims as submitted to the Davey Committee .....	334
Appendix D <u>Toronto Star</u> , <u>Toronto Sun</u> and <u>Globe and Mail</u> circulation .....	336
Appendix E <u>Toronto Star</u> and <u>Toronto Sun</u> circulation in the Census Metropolitan Area .....	338
Appendix F Questionnaire .....	340
Appendix G Questionnaire results .....	352
Vita Auctoris .....	381

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Issue to be studied

The purpose of this study is to gather information and test hypotheses on how decision-making by reporters and editors, and therefore the content of news columns, is affected by social influences in the newsroom of The Toronto Star.

This research is based on a foundation laid down 36 years ago by a former newspaperman, Warren Breed, who studied various controls over the behaviour of editorial employees at several newspapers in the northeastern United States.<sup>1</sup> The phenomenon he termed "social control in the newsroom" was a major part of his study. Breed's hypotheses on social control, modified by more recent studies found in the Communication/Journalism literature and the author's experiences as a newspaper reporter and editor<sup>2</sup> will be applied to one newspaper: The Toronto Star.


Perhaps an example will best illustrate the issue being studied. On Oct. 8, 1987, The Star published a story on Page One that quoted Canada's employment minister, Benoit Bouchard, as saying, in response to questions about possible job losses in Canada because of freer trade then being negotiated with the

United States: "It could be over 500,000. It could be no change at all. It's all hypothetical." The large headline placed on the story read: "Free trade could cost 500,000 jobs: Ottawa".<sup>3</sup> Why would an editor write such an unfair and misleading headline? How would it pass unscathed up the chain of command of senior editors who review Page One before it is published?

Beland H. Honderich, the publisher of The Star is a strong opponent of free trade. But Mr. Honderich does not tell copy editors what headlines to write or senior editors what specific headlines to approve or reject. In fact, Honderich rarely enters the newsroom and many Star employees have never met the man and few have talked to him about news policy.

The headline cited raised some public reaction and The Star's coverage of the free trade debate will be examined later in this thesis, but the incident is mentioned here to illustrate the central question addressed by this study: What social forces in The Toronto Star newsroom would create a milieu in which such a headline would be written, approved and published in Canada's largest newspaper?

Breed's study began with the problem "Who determines what goes into the news columns?" but some months after the field work began he amended it to "Who or what determines what goes into the news columns?"<sup>4</sup> Breed added "what" to "who" determines the content of news columns "to indicate that not only individuals, but cultural, societal and professional factors enter into the decision-making process. In other words, individuals possess the





power to mould the news story, but so do the various kinds of norms that guide men."5 He concluded that each publisher sets news policy and that "social control" consists of "socialization" or the learning and internalising of that policy and the maintenance of conformity to that policy.6

But Breed's study poses some problems for researchers who follow in his footsteps. These problems may help explain why, although Breed opened up a fascinating, important and potentially fruitful area of discussion, virtually no other researchers have replicated his work. The only study found that directly attempts to test Breed's hypotheses is a PhD study in 1971 by Daniel Garvey Jr. at Stanford University called "Social Control in the Television Newsroom".7 Garvey tested whether social control in three television newsrooms existed by comparing the news judgment of staffers with their managers' news judgments.

One difficulty with Breed's study was its subjective nature. Breed interviewed 120 journalists at various newspapers, then arrived at his conclusions from what he was told, with only generalized references to exactly what data he gathered. An exact replication of Breed's study is therefore impossible. Any findings would also be necessarily subjective. Garvey's attempt to test objectively whether television newsroom journalists had learned and maintained the same news values as their superiors through social control was only partially successful. Most managers he contacted would not co-operate, and those that did provided less-than-complete information and the data gathered

from newsroom staffs was also incomplete. Garvey was forced to combine objective results with information gathered in interviews in informal situations outside the newsroom and come up with conclusions that were partly objective and partly subjective. He was forced to conclude that his thesis could be described only as a "descriptive study of the news selection process."<sup>8</sup>

The present study will be less concerned with proving that a news policy exists and instead, based on the assumption it does, as demonstrated by the literature, attempt to see how it is maintained. The opinions and perceptions of writers and editors at The Toronto Star will be gathered through an anonymous questionnaire. This approach, it is hoped, will permit objective testing and analysis.

Breed's theory lends itself to an assumption that social control may be universal: "Every newspaper has a policy, admitted or not."<sup>9</sup> The questionnaire results obtained in this study, with the added weight of the literature review, will not demonstrate how social control is maintained at all newspapers, but by shedding light on how it is maintained at The Toronto Star will provide evidence for or against Breed's theories where little had existed before. The results will add to the body of knowledge about how newspapers operate in general; for, while The Toronto Star may be unique in many ways, it surely has many characteristics similar to other newspapers. As Garvey wrote in the introduction to his work, "It would be enough to capture a single unicorn to prove that unicorns exist."<sup>10</sup> The results of

this study will also provide information where none existed before about social factors at work in The Toronto Star newsroom. And it will allow journalists at other papers, and any researchers who wish to do so, to compare the situation in other newsrooms with The Star's. It will also provide some insight for interested journalists at The Toronto Star about what their fellow journalists perceive to be the situation in their newsroom.

Data provided by the questionnaires will simply reflect the opinions of the people who answer them. It will be a reflection of what those who respond perceive to be the situation. This perception may differ from the reality of how the newsroom operates, but, on the other hand, people who work in the newsroom base their decisions on their own perception of reality, so gaining knowledge about their perception is of more use than attempting the difficult, if not impossible, job of trying to determine what is the reality of newsroom decision-making.

The essential concepts of "social control" and "news policy" will be first examined by introducing them in this chapter and illustrating them through a review of the literature as they have been explored by Breed and other researchers in the sociology and business management fields and as they have been illustrated in the history of The Toronto Star and its news policy in action. Hypotheses will be derived from these concepts and a questionnaire developed to test objectively the hypotheses in the newsroom at The Toronto Star. The data will be analyzed and used

to test the hypotheses. From those tests, conclusions will be drawn and recommendations made.

It is hoped the recommendations will contribute to the academic study of communications by adding insight for outsiders about some of the social factors at play in a working newsroom. In addition, it is an aim of this study to derive recommendations of a pragmatic nature that active journalists and managers at The Toronto Star and other newspapers will find helpful.

The collection of data will necessarily differ from Breed's. Breed interviewed 120 staff members of newspapers from across northeastern United States and treated his data as representative of the industry as a whole. This study will be limited to one newspaper. An extensive questionnaire will be used to gather data rather than personal interviews. Time restraints on the researcher ruled out a large number of personal interviews, and, given the personal nature of the study, it is hoped anonymous questionnaires will yield more and better data than face-to-face interviews with a co-worker asking questions that involve other co-workers who have a large influence on the respondents' livelihood.

Like Breed's study, this paper is more concerned with social factors that determine the content of the news columns than with the content itself, the audience or the effects of what is published in the paper.

Ideally, there would be no control on the news other than events. Newspapers would simply report what happens. In an ideal

world, assignment editors learn of an event. Reporters are told to cover it. They find out to the best of their ability what happened from all sources available, determine what the lead paragraph will be and what the order of importance is for the other facts. They write the story, submit it to the desk and an editor decides if it will run in the paper, where it will run, how long it will be and what size of headline it will have. A copy editor checks it and writes a fair and accurate headline based on the most important element in the story. It is checked by another editor, sent to the composing room, on to the press room, printed and delivered to thousands of people in the community who will use the information for their own purposes.

As Breed says, however, "no one should be surprised ... that other control exists." It is naive and -- when serious matters are concerned, such as deciding who to vote for or deciding on public or corporate policy -- even dangerous for newspaper readers to assume that what they are reading is dictated strictly by events.

There are many other factors at work, all inter-connected. How is the assignment chosen in the first place? Every event cannot be covered. What factors decide what gets covered and what doesn't? The reporter can almost never include all the facts in even simple stories, let alone complicated ones because there are usually strict space restrictions. What factors decide what sources of information are chosen and which ones ignored? What factors decide what will be chosen for for the "lead" and the

order in which the remaining facts are assembled or which facts are left out? What factors are behind the decision about what page the story will run on, the position on that page, the size of the headline, the amount of space the story is given? Will a photographer be assigned? Will a picture be used with the story? What picture? What size?

The purpose of this study is not to examine the results of such decision-making, but to examine what social factors are at play when such decisions are made at The Toronto Star. In Breed's words:

The reporter is at his desk. No one is by his side. Yet the story is a product not merely of the event and the reporter's knowledge of it, but of this entire system of relationships which constitute the subject matter of study.<sup>12</sup>

An assumption that the publisher holds an ironclad rule over newspaper policy may or may not be valid and the publisher may or may not be the most significant control factor. We will explore these assumptions. But there are many people between the publisher and the reporter who are difficult to research and are often ignored by critics and researchers. It is a goal of this study to shed some light in this area. The topic requires insight from the fields of sociology and management studies. Both are large areas with a wealth of literature but, like in communication studies research, there is a limited amount of study directed towards the role played by mid-level managers and editors in social factors that influence decision making in the newsroom.

Newspaper people, whose main concern is getting the paper out, prick up their ears when they hear words like "control" and "influence." These are words they normally associate with the subject of their news stories, not themselves. In Breed's words, "control" and "influence" "do not convey a pleasant feeling; they suggest A is manipulating B to fill A's pocket."<sup>13</sup>

It is important, then, to understand this is not an expose of the secret workings of The Toronto Star. The news media, and perhaps The Star more than others in Canada, have been criticized for violations of truth, decency and fair play. The researcher's intent is to analyze, not harp on these matters. My purpose is to increase awareness by the newspaper-reading public and academia about the functions of the press by examining the social forces at work in determining what gets into the news columns of The Toronto Star and to provide an opportunity for interested journalists and journalism students to consider influences on working newspapermen and newspaperwomen. Hopefully more awareness of these influences will help them improve the service they provide their readers.

This study is mainly concerned with control factors in some types of news stories. This means that, except when they exert pressure on the news, it will not concern itself with editorials, opinion columns, non-news features, advertising and the business, circulation and mechanical departments of the paper.

Likewise, it should be remembered that social factors are only one of the influences over newspaper content. Such controls

as financial resources provided to gather the news and those imposed by libel laws and other legal considerations are left to other researchers.

It is necessary to analyze what is meant by "social control" and "news policy" to reduce the negative connotations these terms hold for working journalists. All society operates under forms of control. Without them society would not work in the organized fashion we have come to expect. All businesses have some form of control to enable the staff to get the job done and produce a product. All businesses have a "policy" under which they operate or there would be chaos. It is natural that the "policy" would be set by the chief executive officer and handed down through the organization. It is also natural that if that enterprise is in the news business, it will have a "news policy." There is nothing mysterious or sinister about the existence of a news policy in a news organization. It is natural and necessary. But what is mysterious is how that news policy is implemented.

The meaning of social control here is the ability to limit the alternative courses of action available to a person.<sup>14</sup> There are three types of controls : Absolute control, limited control and quasi-control. If the person doing the controlling has "absolute control," all alternative course of action are eliminated except the ones desired by the controller. "Limited control" would be a reduction in the number of alternatives, but not a complete reduction. "Quasi-control" doesn't eliminate courses of action, but manipulates positive and negative



reinforcements to differentiate the attractiveness of the alternatives. (Quasi-control is never certain to work, of course, since it depends on the willingness of the controllee to submit.) All three forms of control are found in the newsroom, but the staff is primarily controlled by quasi-control methods, according to Breed's theory, because maintenance of the news policy is seldom overt. Instead it is implemented subtly as staff members learn how they are expected to act through "osmosis."<sup>15</sup>

The controllee's actions are governed by the knowledge that sanctions can be imposed by the controller. Sanctions are imposed after the action is done and therefore only affect future behaviour. And, in a newsroom hierarchy, a controller is also likely to be a controllee -- A controls B, B controls C, C controls D etc. Social control theory was developed to help explain managerial control in the absence of direct control. Breed said "the publisher as decision-maker will come to be seen as commanding a point at the apex of a T, or better, a spreading tree. His influence flows down to the staff preparing the paper."<sup>16</sup> Although publishers are in a position that appears to be one of absolute control, they actually have very limited control -- they can't find out what is going on the community themselves, assign all the reporters themselves or even read all the stories before they are published in the paper. In reality, each level in the newsroom hierarchy must know what the level above will accept. The total output must eventually be acceptable to the person at the apex. What the person at the apex considers

satisfactory is what becomes policy.

Reporters know more than the publisher and senior editors, who spend their working day inside an office, about what is going on in the community. This is especially true in the case of beat reporters and their areas of expertise. For reporters with more expertise than those above them in a hierarchy, Garvey said,

"self-imposed determination to abide by policy would be far more effective than any attempt by management to dictate the position the reporter should take. ... the efficient functioning of the news operation will depend upon the existence of a network of indirect quasi-controls which transmits the limitations of alternatives imposed by those in ultimate positions of control to those in direct control of content.<sup>17</sup>

Garvey broke down Breed's concept of social control into six types of control:

(1) Managerial control. In his article called "Social Control in the Newsroom" that evolved from his Thesis, Breed said he studied the way publishers "secure and maintain conformity" to "policy".<sup>18</sup> But this is misleading because it implies that social control is exercised by the publisher. He says later in the same article that the publisher does little or nothing to implement policy and that policy is seldom spelled out.<sup>19</sup> While managers have the power to hire and fire; give raises, promotions and demotions, and generally tell underlings what to do, the reality is few people are fired for any reason, let alone for refusing to conform to policy, and unions protect jobs and negotiate pay levels. Managerial control cannot account for the full degree of conformity necessary for the smooth function of the news operation. Managers cannot oversee every

step of the news gathering and news preparation.

(2) Legal control. Laws that protect against defamation, protect privacy and copyright, forbid trespassing, breaking and entering, wire-tapping etc. and monitor contempt of court have a controlling effect on how the news is gathered.

(3) Group control. The attitudes of group members affect the behaviour of people in that group. Newsroom staffers, as members of a group, get their rewards and punishments in esteem gained and lost within the group. They are also influenced by the group's pressure to conform.

(4) Professional control. Breed said "ethical journalistic norms" often offset managerial control.<sup>20</sup> A profession is an extended group, and, while journalists don't meet all the technical requirements to be called a profession -- education standards, entrance requirements, a body of their peers to judge standards or ethics with the power to ban individuals etc.-- they do have some desire for the respect of members of the news-gathering fraternity or craft. News organizations, in addition, develop codes of conduct for their employees to follow. (Unions have only a minor role in news policy issues, concentrating more on bread and butter issues like wages than on "professional" concerns.)

(5) Ethical control. Journalists, like other members of society, have their own personal ethical code of conduct. As individuals, they must estimate how much society will reward or punish them if they follow a given course of action. Like

religion, ethical control involves conditioned responses learned while growing up and when individuals become reporters they bring their personal codes of ethics with them. Reporters act according to their consciences when they chose to write a story or not, fight for or against its publication, quit their jobs on a point of principle or swallow their principles and stay on.

(6) Philosophical Control. Close to ethical control, this type of control comes into play as each reporter and editor faces the series of choices they must make on every story they work with. Individual journalists adopt their own philosophy of journalism. Each knows what he or she thinks journalists and journalism should accomplish.

The term "news policy," as used by Breed, also needs explanation. In his article "Social Control in the Newsroom," he defines policy as "the more or less consistent orientation shown by a paper, not only in its editorial columns but in its news columns and headlines as well, concerning selected issues and events."<sup>21</sup> This definition refers to content, but Breed also uses the term to apply to how content is made to conform to policy. This dual meaning of "policy" is clearer in the definition Breed uses in his Thesis: "... the more or less consistent orientation shown by a newspaper concerning various issues and interests, and the way in which the paper manifests this orientation."<sup>22</sup> The first half of this definition refers to the standards which are conformed to by the staff, the second half to conformity in news content. Breed did not feel it necessary to demonstrate that

content does conform to management standards and neither does this researcher. Others could attempt to do so with content analyses if they feel it necessary. For the purposes of this study, "news policy" will refer to both the way managerial philosophy is maintained in the newsroom and the results of that philosophy in the content, although the thrust of the original research will be towards the means of maintaining policy.

Breed's definition of news policy includes the concept of "slanting." News stories with a "more or less consistent orientation ... concerning various issues and interests" are, in reality, slanted news stories: the subject of the stories is consistently given favorable or critical treatment. Not all stories conforming to news policy are slanted, but there is no denying that some are. Breed said slanting "almost never means prevarication. Rather, it involves omission, differential selection, and preferential placement, such as 'featuring' a pro-policy item, 'burying' an anti-policy story on an inside page etc."<sup>23</sup> But since the term "slanting" has pejorative connotations for journalists, it will be avoided in all communication with those surveyed for this study. The working definition of "news policy" for this paper and that used in the questionnaire will be a simple version of the definition used by Breed in his Thesis: the more-or-less consistent orientation shown by a news organization toward various issues and interests in its news columns.

## 2. Significance of the study

Breed's pioneering work on the relationship between newspaperpeople, news and society opened many areas to explore. His was an "exploratory" study, he said, and the findings were "the researcher's tentative conception of newspaper controls"<sup>24</sup> which provide a start for research in this area. Yet, there has been little done since Breed in the area of social control analysis in newsrooms.

Garvey pointed out traditional studies are content analyses and the study of the people who control content, but surprisingly little research has been done in a third area -- the interface between the two -- or "how" or "by which means" decision-makers exercise control over media content.<sup>25</sup> Breed called this area of study "control analysis."

Ted Joseph, an American researcher who has used Canadian newspapers to study what role reporters, editors and publishers feel they should have in decision-making, noted in 1982 "there is no known literature on decision-making within Canadian daily newspapers."<sup>26</sup>

Breed's study was published in 1952 and much may have changed since then in the factors that control news content. Also, Breed, after being turned down by two New York City papers for permission to study them, concentrated on small and medium-sized newspapers in the United States. The Toronto Star is a large newspaper and is located in Canada.

Breed said:

The question arises as to the degree with which the control factors within medium-sized papers also operate in the metropolitan press. The answer can properly follow only from an investigation.<sup>27</sup>

In his research into the nature of news and its relationship to society, Walter Gieber wrote in 1964:

There is no argument here with the premise that our society has a significant concern with the role of the press and the impact in the community. But, there may be some argument over which comes first, the horse or the cart. Most critiques of the press are concerned with the effects on society of the press -- for example, its impact on "public opinion," as though the press were an autonomous force. It seems to me that the examination of the press must start where the news begins -- within the institution of the press, within the walls of the newsroom or any other place where a newsman gets and writes his stories.<sup>28</sup>

Gieber added, "... until we understand better the social forces which bear on the reporting of the news, we will never understand what news is."<sup>29</sup>

Wilbur Schramm wrote in 1971 that Breed's study is part of a "scant literature." He said, "There has been a great deal of study of the content of mass media, but relatively little study of what happens between a news event and its appearance in the media."<sup>30</sup>

Researchers George A. Donahue, Phillip J. Tichenor and Clarice N. Olien wrote in 1972:

While there has been considerable concern about the "professionalism" problem in journalism, this concern has largely ignored or overlooked such aspects of organizational structure as the systematic linkages between persons doing journalistic tasks and persons such as city editors, managing editors and publishers who make ultimate decisions about message flow and media organization.<sup>31</sup>

Concern that the people who control the pursestrings at newspapers control the news content has a long tradition in Canada. Although they are ordered at random and by different governments, history shows Canadian governments seem to launch large-scale studies of the mass media about once every 10 years. Most recently, this has been manifested by two massive government studies, one costing \$600,000 chaired by Senator Keith Davey that published its report in 1970,<sup>32</sup> and another costing \$3.1 million chaired by Tom Kent that released its findings in 1981.<sup>33</sup> Kent and Davey follow a long tradition, starting in 1929 with the Aird Report<sup>34</sup> of a royal commission on radio broadcasting that led to the Broadcasting Act of 1932 and 1936, followed by the Massey Commission that reported in 1951 on the development of the arts, letters and sciences,<sup>35</sup> and Senator Gratton O'Leary's report on publications in 1961,<sup>36</sup> with various other smaller studies in between. These committees and commissions indicate the importance the issue of the control of newsrooms is to government and, presumably, the people they represent whose tax money paid for the studies. These official government investigations were obviously predicated on the assumption that newspaper owners control the news content of their papers. If owners do not control news content, why be concerned with who owns them?



But, while taking for granted that newspaper content is controlled, these government studies didn't focus to any great degree on how control is maintained. This study will hopefully help fill that information gap.

A basic reason for the need for this study is rooted in the importance of the news media in our daily lives and, specifically, the importance of The Toronto Star in the lives of the people who depend on it for information. This includes those who depend on the role Canada's largest newspaper plays in disseminating Toronto news and news from its domestic and foreign bureaus and the agenda-setting influence it has on other newspapers and broadcast outlets in Toronto and elsewhere in the country.

Credibility is very important to newspapers. Without credibility, their effectiveness as news media is diminished and, by association, so is their effectiveness as advertising media. The American Society of Newspaper Editors recently conducted a massive study into the credibility of newspaper with a survey of a sample of U.S. adults supplemented by a series of focus group discussions in five cities. The results were published in 1985. The study found a significant lack of respect for the media as institutions and that a majority of the public believes the news media give more coverage to stories that support their point of view.<sup>37</sup> These findings should be of deep concern to journalists.

As Frederick Siebert outlines in Four Theories of the Press, the Social Responsibility/Libertarian theory sees man as a

"rational being able to discern between truth and falsehood, between a better and worse alternative, when faced with conflicting evidence and alternative choices ... the press is conceived as a partner in the search for truth.

[The press is] a device for presenting evidence and arguments on the basis of which the people can check on government and make up their minds as to policy.<sup>38</sup>

Therefore, it is imperative that the press presents the facts and evidence and various alternatives free from influences that hinder the flow of information in the marketplace of ideas. And it is likewise imperative to understand these influences. Social influence on decision-making about news coverage has not been examined closely.

Siebert also raised the possibility of government action to control the press if it failed to fulfil its mandate:

... the power and near monopoly position of the media impose on them an obligation to be socially responsible, to see that all sides are fairly presented and that the public has enough information to decide; and that if the media do not take on themselves such responsibility it may be necessary for some other agency of the public to enforce it.<sup>39</sup>

The idea of "some other agency of the public" becoming involved in the operation of newspapers has been broached by the Davey and Kent studies but very strongly opposed by publishers and never implemented. But, nevertheless, the fact that the government ordered the studies indicates the seriousness with which the issue is regarded in this country. The Kent Commission, in particular, was very concerned that publishers influence editors and the content of news columns.<sup>40</sup> The assumption that this influence is undesirable was basic to Kent's study.

While the government's fears were related to the perceived evil of a publisher beholdi~~ng~~ to an owner with other business interests does not apply as directly to the independently-owned Toronto Star as it does to chain owners in Canada, the Kent Commission's concern with the relationship between the publisher and the news is relevant to this study. Kent assumes publishers influence the news; this study investigates how they do it.

Kent also assumes owners of chains of newspapers are more dangerous to their readers than owners of independent papers. This study's purpose is not to dispute that assumption, but may shed some light on it for use by others who might question it.

Kent addressed the relationship between publishers and editors:

... the editors are the publishers' people almost to the same extent that the publishers are in turn the proprietors' men. Overall, the structure is most certainly not one that can give any confidence that newspapers in Canadian communities are edited independently [of their proprietors].<sup>41</sup>

While it is worthwhile to study the publisher-editor relationship, Kent recognized that the relationship's influence extends far beyond the editor's office and influences the entire newsroom. The commission went so far as to recommend a contract be required by legislation to separate publishers from editors "because the contract is crucial for the editor's independence from interested interference" and also "because it is the foundation on which professional integrity of the journalistic staff as a whole can be built."<sup>42</sup>

The late Borden Spears, former Toronto Star managing editor, readers' ombudsman and a member of the Kent Commission, said in an interview after the Kent report was published that the commission was concerned that publishers' interference inhibits newspapers' content from being determined by events and instead gives rise to a series of news policies and sacred cows. He said the contract for editors proposed by the commission "relieves the editor of the pressure to consider any interests other than what he considers the interest of the public in the news of the day."<sup>43</sup>

The commission recognized that ownership of the press is not dedicated exclusively to the "discharge of its public responsibility. Extraneous interests, operating internally, are the chains that today limit freedom of the press."<sup>44</sup> Kent did little to analyze the controls that "operate internally." Although this study will add information to what is known about internal influences at only one paper, The Toronto Star is a key paper in Canada and further research may show if the findings are applicable at other papers.

So, although the Kent Commission was based on the assumption publishers influence news content, it did little study into how that influence was extended. And Breed, after establishing the hypothesis that the publisher holds power over the paper in several important areas, noted "the literature ... while well stocked with affirmations, is weak on demonstrations."<sup>45</sup> This study hopes to provide some demonstrations of this concern.

Ben Bagdikian, a former newspaperman and now high-profile critic and researcher of the press in the United States, addressed the concerns of press ownership by large conglomerates in the U.S. in a 1987 book entitled The Media Monopoly.<sup>46</sup> Like Davey and Kent in Canada, Bagdikian's arguments are based on the assumption that owners influence news content. His central thesis is that corporate control of the media poses a threat to journalism, society and ultimately, democracy:

It is a truism among political scientists that while it is not possible for the media to tell the population what to think, they do tell the public what to think about. What is reported enters the public agenda. What is not reported may not be lost forever, but it may be lost at a time when it is most needed. More than any other single private source and often more than any governmental source, the fifty dominant media corporations can set the national agenda.<sup>47</sup>

Bagdikian was writing about the United States, but his thesis applies to The Toronto Star, which plays a major role in setting the Toronto, Ontario and Canadian agenda.

Like Breed, Bagdikian says that it is not necessary for publishers to exercise control over news policy story-by-story. It is much more practical to appoint managers who agree with his philosophy and go along with it without having to be told.

Some intervention by owners is direct and blunt. But most of the screening is subtle, some not even occurring at a conscious level, as when subordinates learn by habit to conform to owners' ideas. But subtle or not, the ultimate result is distorted reality and impoverished ideas.<sup>48</sup>

Bagdikian starts his book with a quote from Colin Blackmore: "The dream of every leader, whether a tyrannical despot or a benign prophet, is to regulate the behaviour of people."<sup>49</sup> But,

there is little research into how owners do their regulating.

Most difficult of all to document is the implicit influence of corporate chiefs. Most bosses do not have to tell their subordinates what they like and dislike. Or if such an explanation is necessary, it is not necessary to repeat the lesson. ... the worst damage is not in one particular incident but in the long-lasting aftermath in which working professionals at the editorial level behave as though under orders from above, although no explicit orders have been given.<sup>50</sup>

Chris Welles hits on this theme in a Columbia Journalism Review book review of The Media Monopoly. He wrote that corporate ownership of newspapers by chains had already been well documented. What is regrettably absent in Bagdikian's book, he wrote, is "some rigorous analysis of how and to what extent ownership translates into actual power, power into actual control over information, and control over information into indoctrination."<sup>51</sup>

In another work, Bagdikian pointed out that newsmakers are aware of news policy and many make use of it:

Impact of management policy on the news is not always noticeable to the average reader since it usually doesn't totally dominate the news package. But it is quickly apparent to sophisticated news sources, which usually can exploit the differences in news policies in news organizations.<sup>52</sup>

A key part of the journalists' creed is to publish stories free from influence of special interest groups and other bias. In other words, a good journalist -- publisher or cub reporter-- strives to be fair. Charges that an individual journalist or newspaper is unfair is a serious matter to the concerned newspaperman or newspaperwoman. The Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers' Association's "Statement of Principles for Canadian

Daily Newspapers" is the most widely accepted national standard for journalists in Canada since being adopted by the publishers' association in April, 1977. It is the standard used by the Kent Commission and is included in this study as Appendix A. One section particularly relevant to this point of the discussion reads: "Fairness requires a balanced presentation of the relevant facts in a news report, and of all substantial opinions in a matter of controversy. It precludes distortion of meaning by over- or under-emphasis ..."53

The Star has published its own sets of principles over the years which echo this theme. The Davey report praised The Star for codifying its publishing policy and quoted from its statement of aims. (See Appendices B and C). The statement of aims includes a promise "to provide stories that are fair and accurate" and also "to report the news in a responsible manner, avoiding exaggeration, distortions, slanting and sensationalism."54 The Star's guidelines for Page One, however, also cited by the Davey report, say "the choice of stories for the front page should reflect the paper's news judgment and values."55 How does the staff learn what the paper's "news judgment and values" are? This is a key question for this study because the staff's interpretation of this judgment and these values is an important element in determining whether the paper is living up to its goal of presenting the news fairly. As we shall see, this issue of trying to present the news fairly while at the same time trying to learn what the paper's policy is and then trying to follow it

is a theme that has concerned The Toronto Star since the paper was founded and continues today. Study of this conflict is basic to the study of social influences on decision-making in The Toronto Star newsroom.

The effects of social influences are seen in the news columns, and public reaction to the results of that effect is one of the elements that makes this issue worth studying. We shall examine the effects in Chapter IV on The Toronto Star history and its news policy, but a few examples of the public's concern with The Star's record in achieving its goal of being fair in its news columns illustrate why this concern is relevant for study today, not only out of academic interest and journalistic self-examination, but also out of concern with the important role The Star plays in public affairs.

Former Ontario Premier, George Drew, a Conservative, was one the most vocal public critics of The Star and his vehemence is an illustration of what makes The Star's news policy an issue of public concern. In a speech in the Legislature March 22, 1947, at the height of a feud between Drew and The Star and its publisher Joseph E. Atkinson, he said:

Freedom of the press is part of the freedom of speech which must not be prostituted to the evil ends of any man prepared to use his place as owner of a great newspaper to his own evil purpose.<sup>56</sup>

Serious charges of unfair news coverage continue to this day, but, once again, it is assumed this unfairness is directly ordered from above with little thought by the critics expressed



about how the orders are passed down from on high and find their way on to the news pages.

Ontario's current attorney-general, Ian Scott, touched on this theme in expressing concern with coverage of ethnic minorities in newspapers. It is a problem he views as serious enough to suggest creation of a watchdog committee to monitor coverage of minorities by the news media similar to the way the Ontario Press Council monitors news coverage. He said the need for such a council is based on the complaint that newsrooms are run by "an elite minority of mostly white men who are out of touch with Canadians."<sup>57</sup> Testing the validity of this statement would be a good topic for another study, but his point is relevant to this discussion because the concern that a certain group controls newsrooms implies that the group somehow controls news content. This control is of interest to people effected by news coverage as well as readers, in this case, ethnic minorities and the members of the public who depend on the media to get information about minorities.

The public also depends on newspapers to get information about politics. This is particularly vital during election campaigns and The Toronto Star's coverage of elections has raised serious concerns in the past. Criticism has lessened in political partisanship and volume in recent years, but has not disappeared. Larry Grossman, leader of the Progressive Conservatives in the 1987 Ontario election, made The Star's coverage a public issue during the campaign by charging that The Star has a news policy

that influences not only the reporters who covered the campaign, but even the firm hired to poll public opinion for the paper. Responding to questions about a pre-election poll that -- accurately, it turned out -- showed his party heading toward a last-place finish, Grossman called The Star a "Liberal rag" and pointed out that Martin Goldfarb, The Star's pollster, also did polling for the Liberal party during the campaign.<sup>58</sup>

Canada's free trade ambassador with The United States, Simon Reisman, has raised The Star's coverage of the negotiations into a full-fledged public controversy with serious allegations about unfair coverage. His public criticisms have spurred on other critics to take up the cause publicly and the issue has been debated on radio and television as a news item, raising the effects of control over the news at The Star to a timely crescendo for this study.

### 3. Special problems

The recent criticisms of The Star by politicians and especially by Simon Reisman have dragged on to the public stage an issue that is usually confined to the halls of academia and around newsroom water coolers and press club bars. But the issue of control over the news has always been of interest to journalists and students of the media. Examining the issue of control in the newsroom and news policy from the journalists' point-of-view is another reason for this study. Journalists, who feel it is their duty to analyze the operation of governments, businesses and other public and private agencies, have

traditionally been reluctant to examine themselves. By going inside the newsroom of the country's largest newspaper and letting journalists talk about themselves and their job experiences, this study will add to the slim body of knowledge about how Canadian newsrooms work.

Ted Joseph, who studied what decision-making input Canadian journalists would like to have in newsroom operations, concluded "the biggest challenge is, it seems, not change to meet the needs of reporters but getting publishers, editors and reporters to examine in an open, honest way, perceptions toward reporter decision-making.<sup>59</sup> He pointed out that critics and researchers like Chris Argyris emphasized that newspapers, like most other organizations, desperately need processes for self-examination and self-renewal. But, unfortunately, it seems most publishers and editors are not interested in self examination. He said he received a letter in 1980 from John Foy, general manger of the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publisher's Association, concerning Joseph's planned study of Canadian reporters' attitudes toward decision making. The letter said "I doubt, however, if any of our publishers would be interested in your findings."<sup>60</sup>

Garvey was able to get only three of 24 radio and television stations he approached to participate fully in his study,<sup>61</sup> and then experienced a very high rate of non-response from subjects, both on questionnaires and in interviews.

Researcher Paul Lazarsfeld wrote in 1948: "If there is one institutional disease to which the media of mass communication

seem particularly subject, it is a nervous reaction to criticism. ... Consequently, the critics are suspect: they are thought of usually either as persons airing a pet peeve or selling a pet scheme." He said this reaction is particularly ironic given the rigorous defense the media make for the right to criticize others.<sup>62</sup>

Henry Overduin, a former journalist and now assistant professor at the University of Western Ontario's Graduate School of Journalism, touched on the need for practical research in the daily news business during a debate at a regional meeting of the centre for Investigative Journalism in 1984 in London, Ont.. Responding to criticism from J. Patrick O'Callaghan, publisher of The Calgary Herald, about the newly-announced Centre for Mass Media Studies at the University of Western Ontario, Overduin said:

We know so abysmally little about mass communications. We have so few scholars in the field who know both the business of journalism and some academic specialty that can help improve our business, instead of just adding to statistics to uphold some model or other, or to add yet another market study to a vast mountain of bottom-line research.

We have so little knowledge of the consequences of our news judgments and editorial decisions.

We have, alas, so little insight even to begin serious research into the practice of journalism itself.<sup>63</sup>

The effects on journalists from working under a news policy are worth studying. Davey's committee found a "sour professional despair" evident at most newspapers and that "most Canadian newsrooms are a boneyard of broken dreams." His report said, "That is the tragedy of practicing journalism in a commercial

culture: unless you are very strong or very lucky or very good, it will murder your dreams."64.

"... We are satisfied -- as are most reporters-- that a "party line" does in fact exist in many newsrooms. But like pressure from advertisers, it operates subtly and capriciously when it operates at all.

Frankly, we don't view deliberate suppression of the news by owner-publishers as much of a problem. It happens, but seldom blatantly. More often it is the result of a certain atmosphere -- an atmosphere in which boat rocking is definitely not encouraged -- and of news editors trying to read the boss's mind.65

The Kent Commission went into the newsrooms of the nation and interviewed reporters and editors who put out Canada's papers. "These interviews were not heartening," the commission reported. "We were disturbed by the insecurity and, worse, by the cynicism that were evident. They seemed to us symptomatic of a deep malady."66 What's the cause of this "cynicism" and "deep malady"? This study may shed some light on the causes and lead to some conclusions and recommendations for solutions to these serious problems in Canadian journalism.

As the review of literature that follows in Chapter II and Chapter III shows, most studies that address news policy concentrate on the publishers, reporters and the product, leaving the vast area of middle management uncharted. It is between the publisher and reporters that news policy is implemented and it is an aim of this study to explore the views of middle-level editors and reporters' interaction with them.

Joseph, who studied reporters' and editors' preferences for decision-making, concluded more study is needed in specific

newspaper management role theory.<sup>67</sup> And in his study cited earlier about Canadian journalists' decision-making preferences, he said:

A final challenge is to determine the degree of alienation and the degree of work autonomy or democratic decision making. One might even identify the degree of alienation, existing practices and preferred decisions making needs. Such a study might help in understanding the nuances in the relationship [between editors and reporters].<sup>68</sup>

The dismay in newsrooms found by the Davey Committee and Kent Commission deserves detailed study beyond the scope of this paper, but an examination of the social control factors and their effects on journalists at The Toronto Star may shed some light on a problem that is difficult to research because of the reluctance of journalists to analyze themselves or allow others to analyze them.

Dean of the University of Western Ontario School of Journalism, Peter Desbarats, associate director of research for the Kent Commission, former television and newspaper journalist and once an Ottawa correspondent for The Star, expressed his disappointment at the lack of concern about the Kent commission and the state of the newspaper business in Canada shown to Kent's researchers, not only by publishers, but also by journalists:

One might have expected that publishers or journalists, supposedly committed to the widest discussion of public affairs, would have welcomed the opportunity to analyze their industry in public. ...

The publishers were revealed as a small and highly secretive group, resentful of any government attempts to discuss the responsibilities as well as the rights of the press. To my own surprise and chagrin, Canadian journalists also quailed before the prospect of discussing their professional lives in public, and

thereby running the risk of appearing to criticize their employers. Few journalists dared to testify before the Royal Commission, and most were even reluctant to speak to the commission's researchers in private in the face of the publishers' stated opposition to the commission's activities."69

Desbarats said after the release of the commission's report that it is probably true to say that no Royal Commission in living memory received such withering criticism from the news media, particularly newspapers. "As far as I know, no publisher or editor of a significant daily newspaper had anything good to say about the commission."70

Peter Trueman, a veteran newspaper and broadcast journalist who recently announced he was stepping down as top anchorman for the Global television network, wrote in an introduction to The Newsmongers, a 1986 book by two civil servants alleging the media distort political news:

We would have waited in vain for a book like this from someone in the media with qualifications to write it. The profession, if you can call it that, is automatically on the defensive these days, which means that our minds tend to be closed. And in any event, it is considered a dirty bird that fouls its own nest.

.....  
I am sure that there are other people in the news business who feel the way I do about the direction in which we are headed, but I haven't met them. That is one of the problems with the news media. Most of us in the front lines of daily news are too busy to pause, step back and talk to each other about what we are doing.71

Carleton University journalism professor, Carman Cumming, also a former journalist and a contributor to the Kent Commission's research, found "Journalists themselves have a strong taboo against discussing themselves -- at least about

fundamental weaknesses or changes." Cumming wonders if journalists are becoming "an establishment; a self-accrediting elite encroaching on the powers of law-making, judging and public executing.<sup>72</sup>

Finally, mention must be made of the special considerations imposed by the stance of the researcher in this study. There are benefits and disadvantages to the researcher being an employee of the organization being studied. The difficulties cited above in researching the internal operations of newsrooms are an argument in favor of the study being conducted by a newsroom participant. The researcher must first gain access to the journalists, then derive a mechanism for eliciting their views. Someone who is part of the organization may have an advantage outsiders do not.

Leo Bogard, who has done considerable research work on behalf of newspaper organizations in the United States, said study of media management, structure, organization, staffing and operations is badly needed:

Fortunately, this type of research rarely requires that kind of massive and costly data collection necessary for audience research; it can sometimes be done best by a lone investigator, who immerses himself in the ongoing activities of a media organization, wins the confidence of personnel, and unobtrusively establishes himself as part of the scenery over a period of time during which he can carry out observation and informal interviewing. ... The most productive research program would concentrate on individual case histories of specific media organizations rather than on the search for generalizations through comprehensive surveys of all media.<sup>73</sup>

Although the present study was done by someone who was "part of the scenery," the researcher kept communication about the



study with his fellow workers at The Toronto Star to a minimum. As well, a necessary research posture of detachment was provided in this instance through use of a written questionnaire as a research instrument. Thus, there has been no subjective interpretation of events as would characterize research being conducted in a more conventional sociological unobtrusive-observer stance. As a relatively new employee (18 months when the survey was taken) with a relatively anonymous job (copy editor on the city desk, working evenings) in a large organization, the researcher was relatively unknown in the newsroom and endeavored not to influence those who do know him to answer the questionnaires at a greater rate than any other groups of employees. The researcher's experience as a journalist undoubtedly influenced decisions about what facets of Breed's findings to study and what questions to ask. This is a benefit of the researcher being part of the organization for a study that aims to come up with practical recommendations for the industry.

There are some negative aspects to the researcher being part of the newsroom under study. Although the present study simply polls opinions of staffers and traces comments already published by others in the literature, there is a chance the results will be reviewed as negative by some people at the organization being studied. As Peter Trueman, quoted above, noted, it is a dirty bird that fouls its own nest. Time magazine pointed out, in an article on the establishment of the Chicago Journalism Review in 1969, that "newspaper editors normally do not suffer criticism

-- or critics -- gladly. They tend to get even unhappier when criticism comes from members of their own staffs."74

For this reason, the researcher attempted to acquire an objective body of data on which to base analyses, conclusions and recommendations. The present study records references in the literature to the issue and The Star, forms hypotheses and tests them against the responses from as many journalists at The Toronto Star who take the time to answer. No information learned on the job by the researcher will be part of the study. Any information used could have been obtained by any researcher who did not work at The Star if they undertook a similar survey.

And it should be noted that this study is not centred on the many news stories that are straight accounts of "who, what, where, when, why and how." Most stories in newspapers, including The Star, are not touched by controversy, policy or self-interest. But because this study will focus on stories that do have these negative connotations it would be easy to conclude it is a muckraking exercise designed to expose embarrassing "insider" revelations about journalism or The Toronto Star and its management and staff. Readers are asked not to conclude that The Star is a "good paper" or "bad" paper from this study alone. Before the internal operation of the newsroom at The Star is compared to other papers, whoever is doing the comparison based on this study is asked first to use the same criteria to study the papers to which The Star is being compared. While this study will certainly touch areas that will not please some journalists

and some Star employees, there is no intent to impugn their motives or activities, only study them.

There is one problem that a low-level employee who studies the organization he works for cannot avoid: If his findings are deemed critical of the organization he will be judged by some to be a malcontent who pretends to know more about managing the operation than the managers; if his findings are deemed laudatory of the organization he will be judged by some to have been compromised by his dependence on the employer for his job and there suspected of trying to ingratiate himself.

The only response at this point -- before the questionnaire results have been compiled -- is that neither judgment would be accurate, but since they are unavoidable, the researcher is prepared to live with them.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Warren Breed, "The Newspaperman, News and Society" (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1952), p. xii. Hereafter referred to as "Breed, Thesis". For a summary of Breed's study, see: "Social Control in the Newsroom," in Mass Communications, ed. Wilbur Schramm (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1960) pp. 178-194. Hereafter referred to as "Breed, Social control."

2. The author worked as a reporter and editor at The Windsor Star from 1971 to 1986 and is currently (August, 1988) a copy editor on the city desk at The Toronto Star. Although the author's experience and current position as an employee at the newspaper being studied undoubtedly influenced the research and writing of this report, the study was conducted strictly for academic purposes and the pursuit of knowledge. It was undertaken completely independently of The Toronto Star (although permission to mail surveys to editorial employees was not denied).

3. "Free trade could cost 500,000 jobs: Ottawa," The Toronto Star, October 8, 1987, p. A1.

4. Breed, Thesis, p. vi.

5. Ibid.

6. Breed, Social control, pp. 178-179.

7. Daniel Garvey Jr., "Social Control in the Television Newsroom" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1971).

8. Ibid., p. 22

9. Breed, Social control, p. 179. [Emphasis mine.]

10. Garvey, p. 19.

11. Ibid., Thesis, p. vii.

12. Ibid., p. viii.

13. Ibid., p. ix.

14. Garvey, pp. 56-103. [Garvey's thesis included a detailed explanation of his interpretation of the definition of "social control" and much of the explanation here is synthesized from his work.]

15. Breed, Social control, p. 183.

16. Breed, Thesis, p. 76.
17. Garvey, p. 70.
18. Breed, Social Control, p. 178.
19. Ibid., pp. 179-180.
20. Ibid., p. 178.
21. Breed, Social Control, p. 179.
22. Breed, Thesis, p. xi.
23. Breed, Social control, p. 179.
24. Breed, Thesis p. xv.
25. Garvey, p. 25.
26. Ted Joseph, "Existing Decision-Making Practices on Daily Newspapers in Canada," Canadian Journal of Communication 8:2 (1982): 65.
27. Breed, p. 428 (emphasis mine).
28. Walter Gleber, "News is What Newspapermen Make It," in People, Society and Mass Communications, eds. Lewis Drexler and David White (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1974), p. 173.
29. Ibid., p. 180.
30. Wilbur Schramm, Processes and Effects of Mass Communications (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), p. 535.
31. George A. Donahue, Phillip J. Tichenor and Clarice N. Olien, "Gatekeeping: Mass Media Systems and Information Control," in Current Perspectives in Mass Communication Research, eds. F. Gerald Kline and Phillip J. Tichenor (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972), pp. 47-48.
32. Canada, Senate of Canada, Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 3 vols. (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970). Hereafter referred to as "Davey."
33. Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on Newspapers (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Information, 1981). Hereafter referred to as "Kent."
34. Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1929).

35. Canada, Royal Commission on National Development in Arts, Letters and Sciences (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951).

36. Canada, Royal Commission on Publications (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1961).

37. MOIRI Research Inc., Newspaper Credibility: Building Reader Trust, American Society of Newspaper Editors, April, 1985.

38. Frederick Siebert, Four Theories of the Press, (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1956) pp. 3-4.

39. Ibid., p.5.

40. Kent, pp. 237-250.

41. Ibid., p. 246.

42. Ibid., p. 249.

43. Paul Vasey, "Spears on Kent Report: It's aim is to protect real press freedom," The Windsor Star, October 9, 1981, p. 7.

44. Kent, p. 237 (Emphasis mine).

45. Breed, Thesis, p. 92.

46. Ben H. Bagdikian, The Media Monopoly (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983).

47. Ibid., xvi.

48. Ibid. p. 47. (Emphasis mine).

49. Ibid., p. xii.

50. Ibid., pp. 38-39.

51. Chris Welles, "Creeping Capitalism," Columbia Journalism Review 22:1 (May/June 1983): 55-56.

52. Bagdikian, "Professional personnel and organizational structure in mass media," in Mass Communication Research: Major Issues and Future Directions, eds. W. Phillip Davison and Frederick T.C. Yu (New York: Praeger, 1974), p. 126.

53. "Statement of Principles for Canadian Daily Newspapers," Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers' Association, 1977. See Appendix A. The statement is also published as Appendix VII, in the Kent Commission report, pp. 286-287.

54. Davey, Vol. III, p. 196.
55. Ibid., p. 197.
56. Ross Harkness, J.R. Atkinson of The Star (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963): p. 345.
57. Paula Todd, "Media watchdog needed to check bias, Scott says," The Toronto Star, June 28, 1987, p. A2.
58. Rosemary Speirs, "Polls add impetus to Peterson's drive," The Toronto Star, August 15, 1987, p. B1.
59. Joseph, p. 94.
60. Ibid., p. 95.
61. Garvey, p. 6.
62. Paul Lazarsfeld, "The role of criticism in the management of mass media," Journalism Quarterly 25:2 (June, 1948): 115-116.
63. Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers' Association Newsletter 13:1 (December 1984/January 1985): 2.
64. Davey, Vol. I, p. 66.
65. Ibid.
66. Kent, p. xii.
67. Joseph, "Daily Newspaper Reporters and, Editors Preferences for Decisions-Making and Existing Decision-Making Practices" (PhD dissertation, Ohio University, 1980), p. 96. Summarized in Journalism Quarterly, 59 (Summer, 1982): 219-222.
68. Joseph, "Existing decision-making practices on daily newspapers in Canada," Canadian Journal of Communication 8:2 (1982), 68.
69. Peter Desbarats, "Monopoly, Media and the Community," notes for a speech to the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, Toronto, August 23, 1982.
70. Peter Desbarats, "How the media operates," Business Quarterly 50 (Summer, 1985): 94.
71. Peter Trueman, Foreword to The Newsmongers, by Mary Anne Comber and Robert S. Mayne (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), pp. 6-7.

72. Carman Cumming, "The Coming Battle Over Media Power," Carleton Journalism Review 1:1 (Spring, 1977): 1.

73. Leo Bogard, "Management of mass media: an agenda for research," Public Opinion Quarterly 37:4 (Winter, 1973-74): 585.

74. "Reporters: Self-criticism in Chicago," Time, March 21, 1969, p. 71.



## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: ~~A SOCIO-INDUSTRIAL~~ CONTEXT

This study is being written for use by working news people and students planning a career in journalism as well as those with an academic interest in media studies. Because of its practical nature and, hopefully, use to newspaper management and non-management employees, the literature review is necessarily different than most theses. An attempt will be made to include enough information about each work reviewed to allow readers without extensive background knowledge of the body of literature and without access to academic journals to follow the trail leading to the present study. And because the subject matter for the study is a live, on-going journalistic and business enterprise, the review will include writings from more than the usual number of non-academic sources, such as newspapers and popular magazines, in addition to academic journals.

The review will touch on sociology and business management theory as well as communication studies in general and the Toronto Star in particular.

An attempt has been made to review thoroughly literature in the communication studies and journalism fields that relate to decision-making in newsrooms. A meaningful study of how news policy is currently disseminated and maintained in the Toronto Star newsroom is not possible without an understanding of the context in which current Toronto Star journalists are working. A review of literature outlining the history of the newspaper is

therefore included, as is a review of literature illustrating the effects of the news policy on the newspaper over the years.

The review of literature in sociology and business management, however, will be brief and should not be regarded as a complete study of the field. It will include information helpful in putting the communication studies literature in context, but is not a complete study of the sociology of the work place.

### 1. SOCIAL CONTROL

We learn about social control early in life. First our parents, then siblings, friends, teachers and, eventually, bosses at work consciously and unconsciously teach us that life's roadway is much smoother if we stay on the path laid out for us and follow the rules.

Social psychologist David Riesman used the story of Tootle the Engine as an illustration.<sup>1</sup> Tootle is one of the familiar Little Golden Books cast of characters. The fire trucks, tug boats and taxicabs of the series of stories read in millions of homes present children with a picture of real life. Tootle is a young engine who goes to engine school to learn to be a steamliner. He is taught two main lessons: stop at red flags and stay on the track no matter what. Tootle soon discovers the delight of going off the track and finding flowers in the fields. He gets caught, but because everyone in Engineville co-operates by putting out red flags in their fields, he finally finds a

green flag that leads him chastened and bewildered back to the security of the track and eventually to the roundhouse. There he is cheered by the other engines and his teachers and continues to learn how to grow up to be a steamliner.

Like Little Red Riding Hood and other "cautionary tales," Riesman says, the Little Golden Books are part of the socializing functions of print and the massive process that over-steers children and leads them willingly to accept being directed by others. (Since Riesman was writing in the 1940s, he had not had a chance to assess the socializing affects of the televised versions of Tootle-like characters on children.)

Riesman, a student of Erich Fromm and colleague of Talcott Parsons, who Warren Breed credits as an influence on his theories of social control, concluded in The Lonely Crowd, published in 1950, that we have evolved from a society of "inner directed" people to "other directed." Riesman broke the mold of Freud and his followers that our fate is fixed very early in life by our psychosexual experiences. He emphasized the strong role of peer groups and school experiences in adolescence in the foundation of character. In a forward to later editions called "Ten Years Later" he admitted that perhaps The Lonely Crowd itself underestimates the possibility of change as a result of adulthood.<sup>2</sup> He said he agreed with Paul Goodman in Growing Up Absurd, published in 1956, that we need to feel adequate in life -- holding a job and being related to life through consumerism is not enough. Riesman's The Lonely Crowd, a much criticized and

rather pessimistic analysis of the effect of progress and technology on our society, said that as universal schooling and literacy increased for a larger percentage of the population, so did the influence of others on our development.

The enormous pressure to conform was a theme of Goodman's popular book on the forces on us as we grow up in our society.<sup>3</sup>

We live increasingly ... in a system in which little direct attention is paid to the object, the function, the program, the task, the need; but immense attention to the role, procedure, prestige, and profit. ... sometimes the task is not done at all; and those who could do it best become either cynical or resigned.<sup>4</sup>

Goodman said "you can teach people anything; you can adapt them to anything if you use the right techniques of 'socializing' or 'communicating.'" "The essence of human nature is to be pretty indefinitely malleable."<sup>5</sup>

Our social scientists have become so accustomed to the highly organized and by-and-large smoothly running society that they have begun to think that 'social animal' means 'harmoniously belonging.' They do not like to think that fighting and dissenting are proper social functions, nor that rebelling or initiating fundamental change is a social function. Rather, if something does not run smoothly, they say it has been improperly socialized; there has been a failure in communication."<sup>6</sup>

Goodman said, "Young people who conform to the dominant society become, for the most part, apathetic, disappointed, cynical, and wasted. ... Our society cannot have it both ways: to maintain a conformist and ignoble system and to have skilful and spirited men to man that system with."<sup>7</sup>

The works of Riesman and Goodman did much to popularize reading about the sociological forces that shape society. Their theories were based on the works of sociologists before them that set the scene for Breed's analysis of the social milieu of newsrooms and the "learning by osmosis" that occurs as news policy is passed down the hierarchy.

Sociologist Robert Park pioneered studies of social control and the "accommodation of the individual to his habitat."<sup>8</sup> He wrote in 1940 that we tend to live our lives governed by knowledge gained from first-hand experiences in the environment "where we elect or are condemned to live." Much of our knowledge of other people and human nature in general is learned by "undirected and unconscious experimentation."

We know other minds in much the same way that we know our own, that is, intuitively. Often we know other minds better than our own. For the mind is not the mere stream of consciousness into which each of us looks when, introspectively, he turns his attention to the movements of his own thoughts. Mind is rather the divergent tendencies to act of which each of us is more or less completely unconscious, including the ability to control and direct those tendencies in accordance with some more or less conscious goal. Human beings have an extraordinary ability, by whatever mechanism it operates, to sense these tendencies in others as in themselves.<sup>9</sup>

Social control was also studied by Herbert Simon in 1945. Decisions reached in the higher ranks of an organizational hierarchy will have no effect on lower-level employees unless they are communicated to him, he found. Employees can be influenced by imposing an order on them or by "establishing in the operative employee himself attitudes, habits, and a state of

mind which lead him to reach that decision which is advantageous to the organization."10

Fromm contended that there is a difference between the aims of the smooth functioning society and the full development of the individual.11 Freedom is frightening, he said, and there is a tendency to give up independence to fuse ourselves with somebody or something to acquire the strength we are looking for as individuals. We strive to relieve "the unbearableness of individual powerlessness and isolation."12

The person who gives up his individual self and becomes an automaton, identical with millions of other automatons around him, need not feel alone and anxious any more. -- But the price he pays, however, is high; it is the loss of his self.13

Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils said elements of action-- "a process of striving for attainment of states of gratification or goals within a situation" -- can be organized into three interdependent kinds of systems: personalities, social systems and cultural systems. They were mainly concerned with social systems and concluded that value orientation patterns enter into the institutionalization of roles and the motivation of individual actors is channeled into role behavior.14

There is no record of non-conformist reporters being pecked to death by their colleagues like B.F. Skinner's paint-speckled pigeon, but Skinner's studies of conditioning are relevant to the background of Breed's theories of newsroom society:

The group as a whole seldom draws up a formal classification of behavior as good or bad. We infer the classification from our observations of controlling practices. A sort of informal classification takes

place, however, when the terms themselves become to be used in reinforcements. Perhaps the commonest generalized reinforcers are the verbal stimuli "Good," "Right," "Bad" and "Wrong." These are used together with unconditioned and other conditioned reinforcers such as praise, thanks, caresses, gratitudes, favors, blows, blame, censure, and criticism, to shape the behavior of the individual.<sup>15</sup>

In the 1960s, Herbert Marcuse won a large following with his theories on how the social system stifles individuality and frowns on boat rocking:

In the medium of technology, culture, politics, and the economy merge into an omnipresent system which swallows up or repulses all alternatives. The productivity and growth potential of this system stabilize the society and contain technical progress within the framework of domination. Technological rationality has become political rationality."<sup>16</sup>

He said society's demand for conformity means that a "comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom prevails."

Colin Blakemore looked for reasons why it seems to be part of human nature to conform. He said if he wears a white shirt and tie to work and he's the boss, he might look at an employee who wears a white shirt and tie to work more favorably when it comes time to choose someone for a promotion.<sup>17</sup> He said there is some evidence the need to conform has its base in the physical desire for gratification and survival, "the very basic biological need to identify -- in order to identify with." You can use implanted electrodes or drugs to control animal behavior, he said, but Alexander the Great, Genghis Khan and Adolf Hitler knew you didn't need brain control to achieve mind control:

... are our brains not already more totally disciplined, our opinions more firmly molded, and our minds more sharply directed by the political and social environment, than by any electrode that could be put in our heads? The stentorian voices of the mass media are more universally powerful than the indiscriminate persuasions of any mind-altering drug.<sup>18</sup>

Charles Darwin recognized "kin selection" as the operation of evolutionary forces on closely knit and interbreeding animals as a key part of social behavior, Blakemore said.

Many of the most precious elements in human social behavior such as formalized sexual bonding and family structure, rich communal ceremony and the embracing of ethical principles within religious codes, can be viewed as deliberate cultural exaggerations of inherited components of behavior that favor kin selection. The desire to regulate behavior, even to bring deviants back to the norm, may be a further cultural embellishment of the logic of kin selection.<sup>19</sup>

## 2. REFERENCE GROUPS

The behavior of people is influenced by their own expectations and the expectations of the group or society in which they participate.<sup>20</sup> The importance of reference groups was first proposed by Sherif and Sherif in 1948.<sup>21</sup> "Reference groups are those groups to which the individual relates himself as a member or aspires to relate himself psychologically," they said.<sup>22</sup> Reference groups "define aspirations that regulate the person's feelings of success and failure in related activities. ... the person's reference groups and its values serve as an anchoring function in his evaluations in social relations." They defined "anchors" as weighty factors in shaping experience and behaviors. Reference groups include not only groups of which a person is a member, but also groups he would like to join, they



said. Sherif and Sherif described alienation as the "psychological state of dissatisfaction with an estrangement from the prevailing social arrangements in which the individual lives and the norms and values that regulate these arrangements."<sup>23</sup> They described a case of being caught between reference groups that appears to apply to mid-level editors in a newsroom. People who are marginal members of one reference group but still largely members of another, are "betwixt and between," they said. "They cannot ignore either reference group, yet the incompatibility and conflict of their values and demands upon them place them repeatedly in situations in which they are pushed one way and pulled another -- a process all the more powerful because his ties are shaky with both sides."<sup>24</sup> Sometimes people are placed in situations in which they must choose and reach decisions that, in effect, mean a choice of one reference group over another.<sup>25</sup> They concluded that the effort a person is willing to expend is affected by his or her reference group's level of effort.<sup>26</sup>

No matter what groups people are really in, it is their perception of their reference groups that are critical. A. Ben Porat concluded after an experiment with middle managers from eight industrial organizations in Israel in 1978 that middle managers consider themselves in management's reference group.<sup>27</sup> He found that 95 per cent of middle managers saw their reference group consisting of managers, rather than workers. People may be assigned membership groups within an organizational process, he said, but individuals select their own reference groups through a

psychological process that may or may not be related to the formal organizational situation.<sup>28</sup>

A study published in 1981 by Donald Grandberg et al. also concluded that there is an important distinction between membership groups and reference groups.<sup>29</sup> Assimilation is more likely when individuals' attitudes are similar to both the membership ("unit") group they belong to and the reference ("sentimental") group with which they identify. In general, attributes of attitudes to individuals seems to be more influenced by sentiment than by unit relations.

### 3. GROUPTHINK

As we shall see in the review of communication studies literature that follows, some researchers have regarded a newsroom as a type of society within a society. The same could be said of many groups, of course, such as police officers, fire fighters, teachers, and workers in any large and complex office or industrial setting. A group of like-minded individuals working together towards a common goal that they view as important, just, worthwhile and noble raises the possibility that they look to each other for their non-monetary awards from their work and tend to become cut off from outside input. The tendency to stick together may increase when the group is challenged by outside critics. This phenomenon is important to consider when studying any group of workers, but it is particularly vital for journalists, who rely on society as a whole to provide the news

and read their stories.

Yale law professor Jack Katz summarized the problem in a 1977 article when he said there are "natural antagonisms" of authority internal and external to formal organizations.<sup>30</sup> Katz found that organizations shield members from external scrutiny and decline to force members to accept their responsibilities according to externally defined norms.<sup>31</sup>

Social-psychologist Irving L. Janis studied the behavior of political leaders and advisers for many years and concluded that without mechanisms to encourage the airing of dissenting views and alternative opinions, there are a series of factors at work that result in members of the group acting in concert and becoming convinced they are absolutely correct in their actions.<sup>32</sup>

... powerful social pressures are brought to bear by the members of a cohesive group whenever a dissident begins to voice his objections to a group consensus. ... there are numerous indications pointing to the development of group norms that bolster morale at the expense of critical thinking. One of the most common norms appears to be that of remaining loyal to the group by sticking with the policies to which the group has already committed itself, even when those policies are obviously working out badly and have unintended consequences that disturb the conscience of each member.<sup>33</sup>

Janis termed the phenomenon "groupthink," a take-off on the "newspeak" vocabulary of Orwell's 1984. Janis defined groupthink as "the mode of thinking that persons engage in when concurrency seeking becomes so dominant in a cohesive group that it tends to override realistic appraisals of alternative courses of action."<sup>34</sup>

... the groupthink type of conformity tends to increase as the group cohesiveness increases. Groupthink involves nondeliberate suppression of critical thoughts as a result of internalization of the group's norms, which is quite different from deliberate suppression on the basis of external threats of social punishment. The more cohesive the group, the greater the inner compulsion on the part of each member to avoid creating disunity, which inclines him to believe in the soundness of whatever proposals are promoted by the leader or by a majority of the group's members.


In a cohesive group, the danger is not so much that each individual will fail to reveal his objections to what others propose but that he will think the proposal is a good one, without attempting to carry out a careful, critical scrutiny of the pros and cons of the alternatives. When groupthink becomes dominant, there is also considerable suppression of deviant thoughts, but it takes the form of each person deciding that his misgivings are relevant and should be set aside, that benefit of the doubt regarding any lingering uncertainties should be given to group consensus.

The problem is that the advantages of having decisions made by groups are often lost because of powerful psychological pressures that arise when the members work closely together, share the same values, and, above all, face a crisis situation under stress.<sup>35</sup>

Janis listed a series of indications that groupthink has set in. They can be used as a kind of quick test by individuals or groups to see if they are in groupthink situations. The test appears relevant to newsrooms. Symptoms of groupthink are:<sup>36</sup> (1) INVULNERABILITY -- The illusion that only we know what's right to do. "Laughing together about a danger signal, which labels it as purely a laughing matter, is a characteristic manifestation of groupthink." (2) RATIONALE -- Rationalizing the group's decision while ignoring or playing down opposing points. (3) MORALITY-- "Victims of groupthink believe unquestionably in the inherent morality of their ingroup; this belief inclines the members to ignore the ethical or moral consequences of their decisions."

Evidence that this symptom is at work is usually of a negative kind, -- the things that are left unsaid in group meetings." (4) STEREOTYPES -- Victims hold stereotyped views of leaders of enemy groups. (5) PRESSURE -- Victims of groupthink apply direct pressure to any individual who momentarily expresses doubts about any of the group's shared illusions or who questions the validity of the arguments supporting a policy alternative favored by a majority. This gambit reinforces the concurrence-seeking norm that loyal members are expected to maintain. The group will allow "domesticated dissenters," however. Dissenters are made to feel at home provided they live up to two restrictions: that they don't voice doubts to outsiders, which would play into the hands of the opposition; and that criticisms are kept within the bounds of acceptable deviation, which means not challenging any of the fundamental assumptions that went into the group's prior commitments. (6) SELF-CENSORSHIP -- Members keep quiet about misgivings and even minimize to themselves the importance of their doubts. (7) UNANIMITY -- Victims share the illusion of unanimity. "When a group of persons who respect each other's opinions arrives at a unanimous view, each member is likely to feel that the belief must be true."

Janis also attributes to groupthink some of the responsibility for the problem of isolation of chief executive officers in large organizations. "Victims of groupthink sometimes appoint themselves as mindguards to protect the leader and fellow members from adverse information that might break the complacency



they shared a [REDACTED] the effectiveness and morality of past decisions."37 Another product of the problem, he found, was that members make little or no attempt to obtain information from experts within their own organizations who might be able to supply more precise estimates of potential losses and gains.38

#### 4. BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Classical organizational theory before World War II viewed man as a passive, inert instrument performing the tasks assigned to him. In classical theory, the conflict between man and the organization was neatly settled in favor of the organization. People were expected to fit the organization.

Eminent German sociologist Max Weber became widely known in the U.S. in the 1930s and his work was used extensively in the formation of social thought about the workplace in the industrial boom after World War II.39 Weber, influenced by the growth of industrial organizations in his native Germany and his military experience in the German army, defined hierarchies and explained how they work. He extolled the efficiency of a hierarchial management structure and its effect on employees' speed, precision and other advantages. But he also pointed out that one of the reasons bureaucracies are efficient is because they "depersonalize" the execution of official tasks. A hierarchy eliminates the need for decision-making from case to case and Weber emphasized that bureaucracy also produces obstacles when a decision must be adopted to an individual case.40

Another influential force on modern thinking about business

management was Chester I. Barnard, former president of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Co. whose 1938 book Functions of the Executive is a classic in its field.<sup>41</sup> Barnard said executives try to avoid formal policy issues and possible damaging disputes. He urged recognition of the importance of social factors in the workplace, saying they are more important than physical and biological factors in determining the level of co-operation within an organization. He said social interaction cannot be avoided among employees of an organization who are required to co-operate doing their jobs. The social factors become incorporated in the individuals' mental and emotional characters. Co-operation, therefore, compels changes in the motives of individuals which otherwise would not take place. As long as these changes are in a direction favorable to the co-operative system they are resources to it, but if they are in a direction unfavorable to co-operation, they are detriments or limits to the system. The social factors are mostly not consciously perceived. But the relationship of individuals to the co-operative system brings them into the system and controls their actions within the system.<sup>42</sup>

"The most important general consequence of co-operation rarely sought for and only occasionally recognized while in process, is the social conditioning of all who participate and often those who do not. In this way the motives of men are constantly being modified by co-operation, which is itself thereby altered as are the factors of efficiency."<sup>43</sup>

Barnard said that once a decision has been reached by consensus, there are strong motivational forces, developed within

individuals as a result of their memberships in the group and their relationship to other members, to be guided by that decision. "In this sense, the group has goals and values and makes decisions. It has properties which may not be present, as such, in any one individual." 44

Peter F. Drucker, dean of North American business experts in the 1950s, pointed to isolation of chief executive officers (CEOs) as a problem in management. It is a theme that runs through much of the literature on business management.

Indeed, 90 per cent of the trouble we are having with the chief executive's job is rooted in our superstition of the one-man chief. We still, as did Henry Ford, model the chief executive of the modern business after the single proprietor of yesterday's economy."45

CEOs are insulated by their position in all companies, no matter how large or small. Besides isolating them from seeing their policies being implemented and their effects on their employees, they have no time to see customers, handle production details or let their hair down.46 Drucker said a team is needed to run a company properly to ensure all information available is considered before decisions are made. A team approach, he added, makes it easier to handle succession, an important consideration often overlooked by CEOs.47

Writing in The Toronto Star's "Monday Forum" column for guest authors, J. Richard Findlay, indicated isolation of CEOs remains a key problem in business today. Findlay, president of a Toronto-based company that advises corporations and institutional investors, asked:



How much does the chief executive officer of any major company know about his customers and their problems, his employees and their attitudes, about shareholders or social trends or the political climate his company is moving into? How does he receive his information? How accurate is it? ... His corporate presence is almost invariably limited to a large suite of luxury offices and is constantly shielded by a phalanx of excessively protective secretaries and aides. ... For the chief executive and his protectors, the ideal situation is one where the CEO never has to know or deal with a set of circumstances that his underlings cannot control or take credit for. ... Chief executives ... are not stupid. But there is often something about their overly protected, rarefied management styles that make them unwitting pawns in the ill-conceived plans of less-wise men.<sup>48</sup>

Sociologist Chris Argyris, who later made several studies of the communications business, wrote in 1959 that new employees in an organization change their values through "re-education" and "coercive persuasion" to conform to the organization's values.<sup>49</sup> He said when attempting to integrate the individual to the organization, both have to "give a little" to profit from each other. One of the major issues is how much each should "give."<sup>50</sup>

Like Argyris and others above, Douglas McGregor accepted the inevitability of some social control as necessary to allow organizations to operate smoothly, but he urged that more attention be paid to the human side of control. "Successful management," he wrote in 1960, "depends -- not alone, but significantly -- upon the ability to predict and control human behavior."<sup>51</sup> But many managers are poor at social control, don't know the theory or practice and don't seem interested in learning:

A manager, for example, states that he delegates to his subordinates. When asked, he expresses assumptions such as, "People need to learn to take responsibility," or, "Those closer to the situation can make the best decisions." However, he has arranged to obtain a constant flow of detailed information about the behavior of his subordinates, and he uses this information to police their behavior and to "second guess" their decisions. He says, "I am held responsible, so I need to know what is going on." He sees no inconsistency in his behavior, nor does he recognize some other assumptions which are implicit: "People can't be trusted," or, "They can't really make as good decisions as I can."

With one hand, and in accord with certain assumptions, he delegates; with the other, and in line with other assumptions, he takes actions which have the effect of nullifying his delegations. Not only does he fail to recognize the inconsistencies involved, but if faced with them he is likely to deny them.<sup>52</sup>

McGregor said that in attempting to control human behavior, "we often dig channels to make water flow up hill. Many of our attempts to control behavior, far from representing selective adaptations, are in direct violation of human nature."<sup>53</sup> He concluded that the ability to control can be improved only if control consists of selective adaption of human nature instead of trying to make human nature conform to the controller's wishes.<sup>54</sup>

Richard H. Hall pointed in 1968 to a trend that leads to conflict in the workplace.<sup>55</sup> As the labor force becomes increasingly professionalized, groups that are "marginal professions" intensify efforts to be recognized as full-fledged professions. At the same time, workplaces are becoming more organizationally based. This may cause conflict and dissatisfaction, but Hall's studies indicated it may vary with professions and organizations.<sup>56</sup>

The high profile that business writing enjoys today in newspapers, magazines and books is a relatively new phenomenon. The Peter Principle, Laurence J. Peter's brightly written treatise that one of the things wrong with business is that workers advance through a hierarchy until they reach their level of incompetency, then stay there,<sup>57</sup> broke ground by moving business writing from the financial magazines and business schools to the best-seller list. Following in Peter's footsteps were Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman, whose In Search of Excellence<sup>58</sup> caught the public's attention by examining the factors that make good corporations work well during a time when industries in Japan and other foreign countries were clearly outperforming many North American companies. They said America's best-run companies had moved away from the classical theories of the 1930s, like those of Barnard and the influence of Weber and others who extolled bureaucracy. "Weber had pooh-poohed charismatic leadership and doted on bureaucracy; it's rule-driven, impersonal form, he said, was the only way to assure long-term survival."<sup>59</sup> The main theme of In Search of Excellence is that attention to employees, not work conditions per se, has the dominant impact on productivity.<sup>60</sup> Peters and Waterman listed eight characteristics common to excellent, innovative companies:<sup>61</sup> (1) BIAS FOR ACTION -- Their motto is "do it, fix it, try it." They give executives a problem to solve and have them come up with the solution and implement it. They experiment. They form bands of employees from all parts of the company to

come up with ideas and test them. They exhibit "corporate fleetness of foot." They work to counter the stultification that comes with size. (2) CLOSE TO THE CUSTOMER -- They learn from the people they serve. "Everyone gets into the act." (3) AUTONOMY AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP -- They foster many leaders and many innovators. "They don't try to hold everyone on so short a rein that they can't be creative." (4) PRODUCTIVITY THROUGH PEOPLE -- "The excellent companies treat the rank and file as the root source of quality and productivity gain. Texas Instruments has 9,000 "people involvement" programs like quality circles. (5) HANDS-ON, VALUE DRIVEN -- Managers walk the plant floor. (6) STICK TO THE KNITTING -- Never acquire a business you don't know how to run. (7) SIMPLE FORM, LEAN STAFF -- None of the most successful plants had a formal matrix organizational structure. The organizations are simple and the top-level staff is lean. (8) SIMULTANEOUS LOOSE-TIGHT PROPERTIES -- Excellent companies push autonomy down to the shop floor, but tightly control the few core values they hold dear.

##### 5. WORKER PARTICIPATION

Research based on study of the process by which members of an organization determine how things get done in that organization was published by Arnold S. Tannenbaum in 1968. He studied industrial workers in Yugoslavia. "Research suggests that the manner in which control is exercised, or the amount that is exercised, has significant effects on the adjustments of

organization members and on the performance of the organization."62 Participation in decisions concerning work and policy is considered important because it allows members to express greater individuality and helps them meet the psychological need for self-fulfillment, Tannenbaum said. "... influential workers do not imply uninfluential supervisors or managers. This is a relatively novel assumption for many managers who have been weaned on the all-or-none law of power; one either leads or is lead, is strong or weak, controls or is controlled."63

Daniel Bell, writing in 1974, said worker control has long been a left-wing idea discussed by the likes of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky and criticized by the likes of Hannah Arendt from the right. Bell wondered if there is still room for worker control between these extremes.64 In the West, unions have largely achieved their basic objectives in raising wages and improving working conditions, but the aspect of control in the work process itself has not been addressed by unions. Surveys show a significant number of workers have a "to-hell-with-it-all" attitude to their work.65 Bell said meaningfulness in work is an important goal similar to safe working places and fairer wages, but "the 'flow of demand'... must come from the worker himself rather than rather than from restraints imposed from above."66

Martin Patchen studied factors in job satisfaction of Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) employees and concluded in a 1970 report that the way a company is organized has considerable

influence on commitment of workers.<sup>67</sup> When opportunities for achievement and peer rewards for achievement are high; feedback from supervisors and compliments or criticism from supervisors play a significant role in job satisfaction and motivation.<sup>68</sup> The TVA had formal provision for participation by workers in decision-making. The results indicated that involving employees, even where management retains the final say, "can be a powerful tool for reducing the psychological cleavage between management and employees." But merely having having a formal program of worker participation does not mean it will work. The employees have to see proof their input is valued and used. The presence of a union can help by giving employees more security to speak up.<sup>69</sup>

A study by Richard J. Lang of a 150 Saskatchewan electronics firm employees in 1978, where a formal participation mechanism was introduced after partial employee ownership, indicated just setting up a mechanism does not mean workers will use it.<sup>70</sup> Employees were put on the board of directors, had their own council and quarterly shareholders' meetings. Little change was found in perceived worker participation. Employee ownership did not seem to increase desire for worker influence among either managers or non-managers, nor did it effect the amount and distribution of influence within the organization. "It seems clear that major attitudinal and behavioral changes on the part of individual managers may be necessary to increase real worker influence."<sup>71</sup> To work, training is needed for both managers and non-managers.

Susan Jackson in 1983 compared workers on the nursing and clerical staff of a hospital outpatient facility who were given more frequent opportunities to participate in decision making with workers who had fewer opportunities.<sup>72</sup>

When workers' participation in decision making increases, communication between the worker and his or her co-workers and superiors is likely to increase also, and as a consequence the worker becomes less isolated from others in the work setting.<sup>73</sup>

Jackson's study showed management needs patience to see the results of giving workers more control. She found few differences in the first three months but more after six months, indicating results of changes in level of participation are not manifested immediately. Her study also showed that increased worker participation reduces role conflict and role ambiguity, therefore lessens tensions and strain and reduces absenteeism and turnover.<sup>74</sup>

A study by J.G. Hangland Jr. and J.R. Wood published in 1980 found the amount of organizational control is an important predictor of members' commitment.<sup>75</sup> They said who has the control is not as important as the amount of control permitted.

R.A. Styskal questioned, in a 1980 study, whether lower-level personnel desire greater participation in decision-making, as is sometimes assumed; and whether there is a direct relationship between participation and commitment to the organization.<sup>76</sup> He examined three temporary organizations whose goals were to achieve innovations in education. He found the desire for more power among subordinates but sharp differences

among members about the degree of participation in power desired. Some members did not desire an extensive increase in power. "... the opportunity to participate may be just as important as the actual fact of participation."<sup>77</sup>

A hierarchical level effect was found in middle-level manager's views of worker participation in a 1981 study by Arthur G. Jago.<sup>78</sup> Middle-level managers from three organizations were asked to indicate the degree of subordinate involvement they would permit in decision-making in solving hypothetical problems. He found that the higher in the hierarchy are the managers, the less likely they are to be willing to share decision-making. Some managers view allowing participation as a way to improve employee morale and satisfaction, others see it as a way to improve the quality of decision making. But, Jago warned, a worker participation plan can backfire. An employee involvement program can be destructive if perceived by employees as a charade, a sham, manipulative, exploitive or immoral.

Peters and Waterman had a similar warning in In Search of Excellence. They said programs like quality circles can be part of the gimmick trap -- starting what appears to be an innovative program with a fancy name, but with little commitment. Quality circles are an example of management-employee co-operation that worked well in Japanese industry and have been held out as an answer to North American productivity problems. But they often failed:



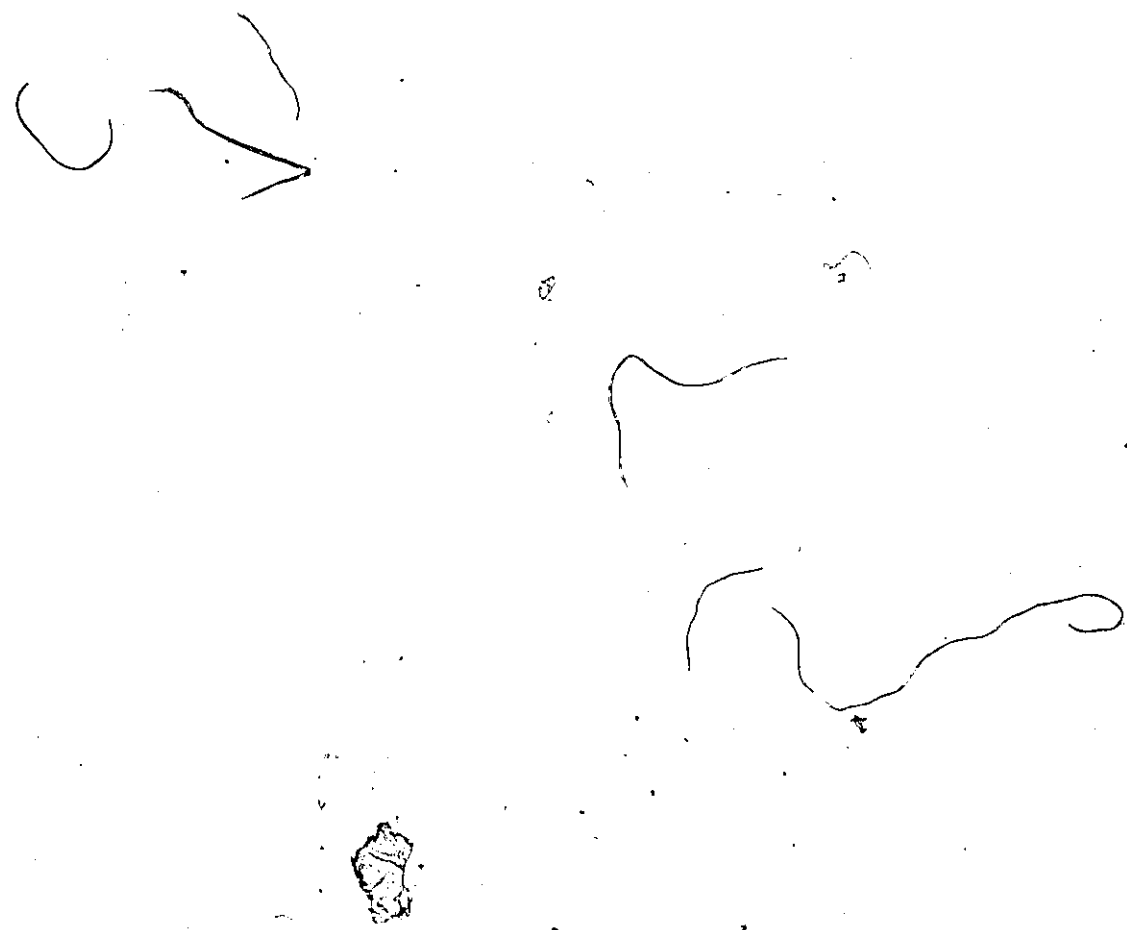
Consultants and other practitioners sold their programs to lower levels of management, like training officers, and top management let them go ahead with it, as much as to avoid getting their own hands messy as anything else. But those supposed panaceas could not successfully be applied in a wholly bottom-up way--that is to say, applied without intense top management interest. It simply won't work. The implicit changes required are nothing short of earth-shattering. There is no way that such programs will ever take hold without the initiating support of the whole top management team.<sup>79</sup>

They said good companies have several different "people programs," but they are not lip service gimmickry.

The Knight-Ridder newspaper chain in the United States had 105 quality circles in operation in the spring of 1988. The first was formed at the Detroit Free Press in 1981.<sup>80</sup> A Knight-Ridder employee publication explains: "Quality Circles involve employees in decisions that affect their jobs. Regardless of where the groups meet or what departments are represented, the goals are the same. Quality Circles members work together to achieve excellence, improve conditions and cut costs by identifying, analyzing and solving problems."<sup>81</sup> Five to 10 volunteers from a specific department make up the group. They meet for one hour each week on company time, determine the problems they want to tackle and come up with workable solutions.

The Detroit Free Press has had success involving newsroom employees in decision making, but quality circles did not work well and were abandoned. Sandy White, assistant to Free Press publisher David Lawrence Jr., said quality circles work best where employees previously felt they had no say in the product being produced.<sup>82</sup>

The Free Press tried a quality circle with copy editors, but found even though copy editors are chronic complainers about having little power, they do in fact have a significant say in the editorial product. They can, for instance, bounce back stories to reporters for a large number of reasons. White said quality circles work best if the solutions they propose can always be applied. Editorial employees resist being regimented and the nature of the job, which requires often unique problem solving for each of the hundreds of stories a day, rules out rigid guidelines of the type a quality circle could be expected to produce.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New York: Yale University Press, 1950).

2. Ibid., p. xv.

3. Paul Goodman, Growing Up Absurd (New York: Vintage Books, 1956).

4. Ibid., p. xiii.

5. Ibid., p. 4.

6. Ibid., p. 10.

7. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

8. Robert E. Park, Robert E. Park on Social Control: Selected Papers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 34.

9. Ibid., p. 34-35.

10. Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior, 3rd ed. (New York: Free Press, 1976), p. 11.

11. Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom (New York: Avon, 1965), pp. 159-160.

12. Ibid., p. 202.

13. Ibid., p. 209.

14. Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, "Values, Motives and Systems of Action," in Toward a General Theory of Action (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 47-234.

15. B.F. Skinner, "Science and Human Behavior," in Role Theory: Concepts and Research, eds. Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), p. 321.

16. Herbert Marcuse, The One Dimensional Man (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. xvi.

17. Colin Blakemore, Mechanics of the Mind (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 167-173.

18. Ibid., p. 169.

19. Ibid., p. 173.

20. Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas, eds., Role Theory: Concepts and Research (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966). (This work contains a good summary of role theory for readers interested in learning more about the key function of reference groups in our lives.)

21. Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, Social Psychology (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 417-437.

22. Ibid., p. 418.

23. Ibid., p. 420.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., p. 431.

26. Ibid., p. 428.

27. A. Ben Porat, "Middle Managers' Reference Groups: Effects of Perception," Psychological Reports 43 (December, 1978): pp. 1043-1046.

28. Ibid., p. 1044.

29. Donald Granberg, et al., "Membership Group, Reference Group, and the Attribution of Attitudes to Groups," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 40 (May, 1981): 833-842.

30. Jack Katz, "Cover-up and Collective Integrity; On the Natural Antagonisms of Authority Internal and External to Organizations," Social Problems, 25 (October, 1977): 3-17.

31. Ibid., p. 3.

32. Irving L. Janis, "Groupthink," Psychology Today (November, 1971): 236-245.

33. Ibid., 237.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., 237-238.

36. Ibid., 239-243.

37. Ibid., 243.

38. Ibid.

39. Reinhard Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1960).

40. Ibid., p. 427.
41. Chester I. Barnard, Functions of the Executive (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, -1968).
42. Ibid., pp. 40-42.
43. Ibid., p. 45.
44. Ibid., pp. 163-164.
45. Peter F. Drucker, The Practice of Management (New York: Harper and Row, 1954), p. 167.
46. Ibid., p. 167-169.
47. Ibid.
48. J. Richard Findlay, "How much does the CEO know? Like Reagan, he may be in the dark," Toronto Star, September 14, 1987, p. B2.
49. Chris Argyris, Integrating the Individual to the Organization (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959), p. 310.
50. Ibid., p. 3.
51. Herbert A. Simon, The Human Side of Enterprise (New York: McGraw Hill, 1960), p. 4.
52. Ibid., p. 7.
53. Ibid., p. 9.
54. Ibid., p. 11.
55. Richard H. Hall, "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," American Sociological Review 33:1 (February, 1968): 92-104.
56. Ibid.
57. Laurence J. Peter, The Peter Principle (New York: Morrow, 1968.).
58. Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman, In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-Run Companies (New York: Harper and Row, 1982).
59. Ibid., p. 5.
60. Ibid., p. 6.

61. Ibid., pp. 13-16.
62. Arnold S. Tannenbaum, Control in Organizations (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968.), p. 307.
63. Ibid., p. 311.
64. Daniel Bell, "Work, Alienation, and Social Control," Dissent 21:2 (Spring, 1974): 207-212.
65. Ibid., p. 210.
66. Ibid., p. 214.
67. Martin Patchen, Participation, Achievement, and Involvement on the Job (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1970)
68. Ibid., pp. 237-248.
69. Ibid., p. 244.
70. Richard J. Lang, "Effects of Formal Employee Participation in Ownership and Decision Making on Perceived and Desired Patterns of Organizational Influence: A Longitudinal Study," Human Relations 34:10 (October, 1981): 847-876.
71. Ibid. 874.
72. Susan E. Jackson, "Participation in Decision Making as a Strategy for Reducing Job Related Strain," Journal of Applied Psychology 68 (February, 1983), 3-19.
73. Ibid. 6.
74. Ibid.
75. J.G. Hangland Jr. and J.R. Wood, "Control in Organizations and Commitment of Members," Social Forces 59:1 (Summer, 1980): 85-105.
76. R.A. Styskal, "Power and Commitment in Organizations: A Test of the Participation Thesis," Social Forces 58:3 (March, 1980): 925-943.
77. Ibid. 941.
78. Arthur G. Jago, "Assessment of the Deemed Appropriateness of Participative Decision Making For High and Low Hierarchical Levels," Human Relations 34 (May, 1981): 379-396.
79. Peters and Waterman, pp. 241-242.

80. "Knight-Ridder Employees Find a Better Way," Knight-Ridder News, 3:1 (Spring, 1988): p. 1.

81. Ibid.

82. Sandy White, telephone interview, April 13, 1988.

## CHAPTER III

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE:

#### A COMMUNICATION STUDIES AND JOURNALISM CONTEXT

##### 1. Social control

The present study was inspired by Warren Breed's doctoral Thesis entitled "The Newspaperman, News and Society"<sup>1</sup> and a subsequent journal article called "Social Control in the Newsroom".<sup>2</sup> Most hypotheses tested by this project spring from those studies.

In discussing Breed's theories, it is important to note that the "social control" article should not be regarded as a mere condensation of Breed's Thesis. While the "social control" article contains references to the dissertation, there is a major difference in the importance attributed to socialization as a means of implementing social policy. In the Thesis, socialization is only one of a large number of factors that contributes to maintenance of policy. The term "social control" does not appear in the Thesis. Breed outlines some of the other control factors in another article, "Newspaper Opinion Leaders' and the Process of Standardization."<sup>3</sup>

The difference in emphasis on social factors between the Thesis and the "Social control" article may help explain why there have been relatively few follow-up studies to Breed's work despite the "Social control" article's status as a classic ground-breaking insight into newsroom decision-making.



Daniel Garvey Jr., in the only study found that directly attempts to test Breed's "social control" theories<sup>4</sup> points out that Breed's study consists mainly of his own newspaper experience and his impressions, after interviewing 113 newspaper staff members. Since Breed's study was impressionistic, his conclusions were inherently subjective.

Breed said his Thesis findings "are the researcher's tentative conception of newspaper control, as taken from personal experience, interviews with more than 100 newsmen, talks with various observers, and observation of a score of newsrooms, and familiarity with the literature."<sup>5</sup>

We shall first review Breed's Thesis, then turn to the follow-up articles that narrowed the focus more closely to control factors.

Breed's Thesis is based on his contention that a newspaper story is not merely a product of an event and a reporter's knowledge of it, but of the reporter's "entire system of relationships."<sup>6</sup>

The reporter is responsible to one or more editors and his publisher. He is aware of the feelings of his fellow staff members. He is thinking, however dimly, of factors outside the newsroom -- the "public opinion" of various individuals and groups in the community. Almost unconsciously, he is being guided by the very nature of the nation. And not least, there are certain professional codes of the journalist playing their part in the story he is tapping out -- the story thousands will read within a few hours.

From the outset, then, it will be impossible to think only of individuals, as individuals, as constituting the controls over the press. The problem is better viewed as a larger situation, a process combining the interaction of individuals, groups and cultural elements.<sup>7</sup>

Breed acknowledged that many news stories are straight accounts of "who, what, when, and where," and said his study is primarily concerned with the controversial "policy story," which he defined as "the more or less consistent orientation shown by a newspaper concerning various issues and interests, and the way in which the paper manifests this orientation."<sup>8</sup>

According to Breed, journalists operate as part of a social system. Every society has norms and a newspaper will perform within the boundaries prescribed by these norms. A second, more specific, group of control factors will be found in any particular newsroom while professional and community norms also play important roles.<sup>9</sup>

~~2~~ In analyzing the social systems of newspapers he visited, the first question Breed asked was: "Who forms policy on your newspaper?" The answer almost invariably came back: "the publisher", which led to his first hypothesis: "The publisher controls the paper."<sup>10</sup> He found the vast majority of publishers were philosophically conservative and their staffs generally more liberally oriented. He predicted the difference would be one of the major factors in staffers' attempts to fight social control.<sup>11</sup> Editors may set policies on most papers, if publishers have not already indicated their positions, Breed said, but publishers hold veto power.<sup>12</sup> The flow of power continues down the management hierarchy, narrowing in scope at each level. "Policy" decisions not covered by the editor may be made, for instance, by the city editor, and sometimes the reporter.<sup>13</sup>

Since publishers ordinarily devote only part of their workdays to the editorial concerns of the paper, Breed found editors are actually in charge of policy a good deal of time. When he asked editors how they discovered the publisher's policy, "they took it as ridiculous and impertinent."<sup>14</sup> He agreed there are obvious facts that make the questions seem ridiculous: not only editors, but even many readers know the policy from reading the paper; most editors have worked up from staff positions under the publisher and therefore have been schooled in his policy; editors are in frequent contact with the publisher through meetings, memos, informal chats, lunches and other social engagements. So editors not only certainly know the publisher's policy, it is in their best interest to know it well and carry it out. He added, however, that few carry out the policy to the extreme of sycophantism because editors, like other types of lieutenants, strive to maintain independence while serving in command.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, editors tend to anticipate the boss' wishes and conform.<sup>16</sup>

Editors told Breed they respected their publishers and had few differences about policy. They said they regularly fought for their views and had them accepted, but that the publisher definitely had the final say if he wished. Editors said if reporters did not agree with policy, they could quit, the same as editors who did not agree with publishers could quit, but in reality "few newsmen quit over policy disagreements."<sup>17</sup>

It is important to remember that no editor admitted, in so many words, that he followed the publisher's orders to bias the news, in one way or another. Nor would we expect such an admission. Yet, how then does news become biased in favour of policy unless the editor, carrying out the publisher's policy, is involved? One of the two following statements must be true: (1) all editors agree 100 per cent with their boss' views; or, (2) some editors bow to policy and bias the news. Our data points to the latter view. There seems to be no other conclusion. Editors, who by and large are more committed to journalistic codes of objectivity and fair play, simply cannot regularly force these codes upon their superiors. Our argument, then, must infer conclusions from what editors did not say. That is no fault of the methods employed. Social scientists recognize that what respondents do not say and what is taken for granted by people, may be of great importance. Moreover, it is neither pleasant nor convenient to admit that one's code, professional or otherwise, is being circumvented.<sup>18</sup>

The publisher's power, however, may be softened by various factors, Breed found. The publisher controls policy, but can be influenced by editors. The editor, at the same time, is "bound" by journalistic codes to protect the free press from pressures both internal and external to the paper. Many publishers hold similar journalistic codes to their editors, he pointed out, and the large number of story topics and the continuing flux of the entire social structure help mitigate against rigid control by the publisher.<sup>19</sup>

Breed states outright and without equivocation that "Every newspaper has a policy."<sup>20</sup> His examination about how it is implemented rejects the widely-held axiom that employees who don't follow policy lose their jobs. His interviews confirmed that newsmen seldom get fired.<sup>21</sup> Instead, he lists other factors that have more to do with the "realistic conception of the human

being" than merely "economic man": (1) The news is determined by events and newspapers cover events. Publishers can hardly force reporters to cover non-existent events. (2) Professional norms such as objectivity, accuracy and fair play are not easily scuttled even when they conflict with policy. (3) Policy is not normally spelled out directly. Reporters are almost never told to "slant" the news deliberately. (4) Staffers are in closer touch to news events than executives and can therefore control to some extent what to cover and what to ignore. (5) Staffers generally have less of an economic stake in working to preserve the status quo than executives and are therefore more willing to challenge accepted policies. (6) Staffers, by and large, hold more liberal ideologies on crucial socio-economic issues than their superiors.<sup>22</sup>

Why then, do staffers conform to policy? The central reason, in Breed's view, is what he calls "sensing policy." This is an informal, almost unrealized, learning process. Breed said staffers spoke of learning the policy "by osmosis" or by the "atmosphere" of the newsroom or that it is picked up in learning "the ropes."<sup>23</sup> Staffers learn by reading the news stories and editorials in their own papers; by seeing what stories get "good play" or are "buried"; by seeing what gets edited out of stories; by reprimands from superiors for decisions to include or exclude information, sometimes formally, but usually informally as a "wise word" from an old hand and subtle messages like a raised eyebrow, a chuckle or a guffaw.

Staffers are aware of their superiors' characteristics, Breed said, either by being told or through observation. Most of Breed's respondents were happy with their work and were generally in the business for the pleasant nature of the activity rather than for money.<sup>24</sup>

Breed found that as staffers progressed through the various stages of the newspaper hierarchy, they increased in willingness to go along with policy. After a staffer has been at the paper for several years, "policy is accepted and the executives know they can 'count on him' ... In action, at the worse he is cynical, narcotized into a form of skilled prostitution, serving the purposes of whoever will hire him. At best, he is the objective reporter."<sup>25</sup>

Although few staffers interviewed by Breed mentioned it directly, Breed concluded that the influence of "significant others" is an important factor in conformity to policy.<sup>26</sup> Only two of 40 reporters, asked why newspeople are thought to be cynical, blamed it on their executives and the enforcement of policy.<sup>27</sup> Breed concluded that there must be some group of institutionalized mechanisms present, which he called the phenomenon of "sensing policy," because of the absence of formal policy directives and because there is so little argument over policy.<sup>28</sup>

Policy, once formed, tends to perpetuate itself. It becomes part of the structure, to be viewed as a value or norm. If it conflicts with reality, rationalizations are found to support policy rather than reality. Policy gathers its own momentum, especially when it becomes challenged, as perhaps by a competing paper's policy.

Newsman retain various professional ideals, but apparently the in-group norms and social relationships exert stronger pressure in the direction of policy. The system of factors we have sketched makes it "natural" for the staffer to conform: he would be "different" if he did not.<sup>29</sup>

Breed saw some serious effects on journalists and journalism from the effects of conforming to policy. Policy restricts journalists' ability to view events with an open mind, a quality Breed sees as vital for good journalists. Journalists who go along with policy "all tend to compromise journalistic ethics with the immediate situation," he found. "They join the staff, 'pick up' policy, see what the others are doing, become 'regulars,' and gain security. Just as they do not 'live' professional codes, they perhaps blind themselves somewhat to the serious public issues, such as those around which the publisher has policy."<sup>30</sup>

Although staffers he interviewed maintained, for the most part, that they do not slant the news, Breed believes they are not conscious of things not covered by the paper as a way to conform to policy.

This researcher believes that some things are left out, and [that] the factors of policy, a sensing policy by staffers, is one cause. Another follows: the congealing effect which seems to take place within the staffer who gradually "wires in" to the paper's routine. Once established in a congenial bureaucracy, the forces which induce alertness, curiosity and skepticism are dulled. The reporter stops asking probing questions and is content to discover -- as one newsman commented -- the colour of the celebrity's eyes, and the exact moment he landed. His "open mind" fails to close around public issues or questions of the newsman's public responsibility, but is quite capable of recording accounts of fires, felonies, and freaks for his readers. His professional standards have been lowered to

mediocrity. Some minds may be more confused or uncertain than "open."<sup>31</sup>

Questioned about conforming to policy, staffers interviewed by Breed frequently admitted to being overpowered by policy and many found reasons for conforming to policy.<sup>32</sup> Breed also found evidence that staffers frequently exceed the policy demands of the publisher and editor.<sup>33</sup>

Breed found that there are several ways of, and reasons for, deviating from policy, but staffers almost always accomplish it as individuals rather than in groups. Newsroom uprisings are scarce.<sup>34</sup> "As important as any other reason for the absence of 'struggle' in the genial atmosphere of the newsroom, the first-name-ishness, and above all the workmanlike intent of the staff to busy themselves with writing and editing the news, getting out the paper, keeping abreast of the times."<sup>35</sup>

But, Breed found, there are several factors that allow some deviance from policy: (1) Executives, especially editors, are committed to the professional norms of fair play. An editor would be embarrassed by accusations of bias. (2) Policy covers only a relatively low percentage of news stories. Most news is "straight news" and written fairly without restraint. (3) Policy is not explicitly spelled out and clearly defined. Editors in charge of implementing the policy may not be certain of the limits of the policy they are enforcing. (4) An editor may not be entirely sure how the publisher feels about all angles of a policy issue. (5) Executives may not be willing to let a policy issue come to a head between themselves and staffers, preferring to let staffers



sense their own tacit limits. (6) Some readers know the papers' policy and suspect the paper of bias. (7) Time restraints, deadlines, the large number of stories and stories filed close to deadline mean that time and trouble are saved by accepting, not questioning, copy. (8) Editors may feel it is not worth lowering staff morale to risk the integrity of their stories and the paper by rigidly enforcing policy. (9) There is a friendly relationship between the staff and executives and staff members determined to buck policy may use that friendship to do so. (10) Journalistic solidarity exists between the executives and the staff, which might overrule the outsiders (public relations people, businessmen, politicians etc.) pressuring for maintenance of policy. (11) Events determine the news and executives can't control events. (12) Reporters writing the facts as they know them have "the right" on their side and it is difficult to challenge their professional and personal integrity to enforce policy. (13) Editors frequently say policy is his concern and that a reporter should write the story as he sees it.36

The attitude of staffers, then, and particularly their enthusiasm about informing readers fully, appears as a control factor. Should staffers become more enlightened, educated and determined to exert this power, the reign of the storied inflexible publisher may be marked by a change away from policy control. More often, however, harmony is found between executives and staffers, with the result that policy is rarely challenged.37

Breed cited other factors governing maintenance of policy in newsrooms. One is the feeling of belonging to a specialized group that influences members of the group to exclude external

considerations when evaluating job performance. He said journalists are usually proud of their calling and of their newspapers, believing they are responsible for fighting obstacles to publishing the truth. He said, "pride in one's own work (like ethnocentrism) may create irrational, and usually hostile feelings among newsmen toward other lay individuals and groups."38

This feeling of belonging to an "in-group" is related to the tendency of newspeople, observed by Breed, to regard news as a paramount value.39

The reporter's job is to get the news and write it. The editor's job is to see the reporter gets it and that it receives proper play. The newspaperman rushes along with time, covering a never-ending series of events. For succeeding at this he is rewarded, and he feels pride in his work and in the work of the press as a whole. After all, hasn't the press "handled" all the events of the world today? And won't there be more to "handle" tomorrow? The newsman is a busy man, busy with news. Many newsmen have scant philosophy about their work, they just know that their job is to get the news, quickly, accurately and interestingly. This is their main preoccupation. They learn that their editors expect them to produce a story, in time for today's paper. Day-to-day, minute-to-minute considerations are the foremost; the newsroom is no ivory tower. Newsmen do talk about ethics and the relative performance of various papers, but not when there is news to get; news comes first. They are not strong on conceptualization, but are strong on piling up news stories. They are not rewarded for analyzing the social structure; they are rewarded for being good reporters and editors. The paper will have space for more news tomorrow, regardless of how much or how little will happen; the reporter will write something, regardless of events. News is a continuous challenge, and meeting this challenge is the newsman's job. In this process, news becomes a value to the newsman. It guides his activity in important ways. He defines situations in terms of news values, acts and reacts in terms of them.40

There had been advances in the social sciences between the time Breed researched his Thesis in the late 1940s and publication of "Social Control in the News Room" in 1955. In fact, Breed pointed out in a footnote in his Thesis that the bulk of his report was written before information was published in the then-new field of structural-functional analysis.<sup>41</sup> Research on reference groups, for instance, was just getting underway when Breed was writing his Thesis and had progressed considerably by 1955.

In the 1955 article, Breed related his theory that papers have news policies, that they are set by the publishers and they are followed by their staffs, but not automatically.<sup>42</sup> He concentrates on the social reasons why staff generally conform to policy.

He summarized the social control mechanisms under six headings, some of which expanded on conclusions published in his Thesis:<sup>43</sup>

(1) Institutional authority and sanctions. The publisher owns the paper and has the power to hire and fire employees. But this power is diminished by the newspapers' tradition of professional public service and the U.S. constitution's First Amendment guarantees of freedom of the press. Also, firing is a rare phenomenon on newspapers and the emergence of the Newspaper Guild union has made it more difficult to fire employees. Instead, deviant employees are more likely to be given unwelcome assignments. "Fear of sanctions, rather than their invocation, is

a reason for conformity, but not as potent a one as would seem at first glance."44 Editors can simply ignore stories that violate policy and also assign policy stories to a "safe" staffer. In the few cases when a story that violates policy gets as far as the city desk, the stories are killed or changed to conform to policy with extraneous reasons given for the changes, such as the pressures of time and space. Finally, editors may insulate publishers from policy decisions and spare him the embarrassment of hearing about conflict over implementing policy and the resulting bias. "... thus the policy remains not only covert but undiscussed and therefore unchallenged."45

(2) Feelings of obligations and esteem for superiors. New staffers are happy and grateful for being hired and respect older staffers who give them a helping hand and act as role models.

(3) Mobility aspirations. Young staffers interviewed all expressed a desire for status achievement. "There was agreement that bucking policy constituted a serious bar to this goal."46 Getting "big" stories on Page One is a good tactic toward advancement and this automatically means no tampering with policy. Furthermore, a reputation as a troublemaker would inhibit getting a job in more lucrative related work like public relations, advertising and freelancing.

(4) Absence of conflicting group alliance. There is virtually no organized effort to fight policy. The Guild concentrates on protecting its members through its collective agreement, which involves the business operation of the paper

rather than editorial policy. The Guild rarely intervenes in editorial decisions and there is no evidence of groups in newsrooms "ganging up" to confront management over policy.

(5) The pleasant nature of the activity. The "ingroupness of the newsroom" gives staffers the feeling of being co-workers with executives in co-operating to get the job done by getting the news and presenting it well. Journalists like their work. The job requirements are not onerous and meeting and dealing with interesting people and events is a pleasing way to make a living for workers who like to be in the know and enjoy getting "the inside dope" denied laymen. "Newsmen are close to big decisions without having to make them; they touch power without being responsible for its use."<sup>47</sup> Most are proud to be journalists.

(6) News becomes a value. Getting the news becomes an end in itself. Filling the paper with stories is the main object of the job and it is for this that journalists are rewarded. "A consequence of this focus on news as a central value is the shelving of a strong interest in objectivity at the point of policy conflict. Instead of mobilizing their efforts to establish objectivity over policy as the criterion for performance, their energies are channelled into getting more news."<sup>48</sup>

The six points above had been introduced in Breed's Thesis and repeated with fresh insights in his "social control" article. But he introduced a seventh concept -- the reference group -- in the article to help explain how policy is maintained. As a staffer becomes accepted into the newsroom, that staffer "shares

the norms" of veteran staffers and executives "and thus his performance comes to resemble theirs."<sup>49</sup> All six of the previously mentioned factors encourage reference group formation.

Where allegiance is directed toward legitimate authority, that authority only has to maintain the equilibrium within limits by prudent distribution of rewards and punishments. The reference group itself, which has as its "magnet" element the elite of executives and old staffers, is unable to change policy to a marked degree because, first, it is the group charged with carrying out policy, and second, because the policy maker, the publisher, is often insulated on the delicate issue of policy.<sup>50</sup>

Breed's article also expanded his theories of factors that allow reporters to bypass policy on some occasions. Besides the vague and covert nature of the policy, he pointed out that reporters can, and do, "plant" anti-policy stories with other news organizations to force their papers to cover the issue or keep them from burying it. Beat reporters and reporters who have "star" status can contravene policy by becoming expert in their fields or developing individual prestige.<sup>51</sup>

Faced with working under a news policy that makes them unhappy -- because of its very existence or because of its content -- staffers can, on one extreme, quit the newspaper business, or, conform to the policy without question. In reality, most staffers are somewhere between these two extremes. Staffers typically stay on the job but blunt the sharp corners of policy where possible; attempt to repress the conflict amorally and anti-intellectually ("What the hell, its only a job; take your pay and forget it ..."); attempt to compensate by "taking it out" in other contexts such as drinking, writing "the truth" for other

publications, getting involved in Guild activities etc. One of the main compensations for all staffers is to find justification in adhering to "good news practice."<sup>52</sup>

As in his Thesis, Breed's conclusions in his "social control" article are pessimistic. "Seen as a client of the press, the reader should be entitled to not only an interesting newspaper, but one which furnishes significant news objectively presented."<sup>53</sup> Demands by readers for objective reporting, professional codes, journalism schools, the Guild and effective critics could bring about changes, he hoped. But he said publishers' attitudes must change first. In the newsrooms he visited, however, the "dynamic socio-cultural" situations seemed to conspire against change. "... the cultural patterns of the newsroom produce results insufficient for wider democratic needs. Any important change toward a more 'free and responsible press' must stem from various possible pressures on the publisher, who epitomizes the policy making and coordinating role."<sup>54</sup>

Breed's "Newspaper 'Opinion Leaders' and the Process of Standardization" article, also published in 1955, also stems from his Thesis. Social scientists Robert K. Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld supervised Breed's thesis, he said, and inspired him to research the factors that contribute toward newspapers across the United States carrying much the same content arranged in much the same way.<sup>55</sup>

In the only study found that directly applies Breed's theories to working newsmen, Daniel Garvey Jr. discovered in

television newsrooms the same installed values that Breed found in newspaper newsrooms and showed that the longer journalists remain in an organization the more they conform to and "believe" the values held by their superiors. Hiring different types of individuals does not materially affect their ultimate conformity to the desires of those higher up.<sup>56</sup>

Taking his impetus from Breed, Garvey evaluated local news items by the writing staffs of three television stations in the western United States in 1969. He attempted to find out whether significant correlations exist between news evaluations of individual journalists and the managers of the stations for which they work.<sup>57</sup>

Garvey designed an objective test to measure the degree to which management might control television news content without the news staff's conscious recognition that such control was being exercised.<sup>58</sup> But he ran into difficulty attempting to put his test to use. He asked 24 television stations to participate and only five agreed. Two withdrew after the testing began, leaving him with only three stations. By refusing to participate, the stations ruined Garvey's attempt to compare stations serving the same market. Garvey was offered a wide-range of excuses by the uncooperative stations, but concluded that, at in at least some cases, the real reason was that "detrimental evidence concerning the manager's relationship with the newsroom might be unearthed."<sup>59</sup> Others said the information sought was confidential or that release of such information was against company policy



and could prejudice renewal of the stations' licences.<sup>60</sup>

Since the nature of Garvey's study was to compare staffers' answers with managers' answers, the managers' answers were essential and he therefore was not willing to compromise on having the station managers participate. He was therefore left with only three stations and, even then, was forced to compromise on his goal of a completely objective test of Breed's theories. He encountered serious non-response problems from the employees of the stations studied and was forced to use impressionistic evaluations, similar to Breed's. The response problems were rooted in staff members' reluctance to provide data which might indicate managerial interference in the news.<sup>61</sup>

Garvey defined "policy" as "the manner in which a station manager would select news items for a program if he had complete control of the program."<sup>62</sup> For his study, Garvey said social control in the newsroom

consists of the limitations placed upon alternative courses of action in preparing the content of the news program based upon the individual's subjective evaluation of the probability of each alternative resulting in approval or disapproval by other members of the news staff. Approval may consist of nothing more than a nod, or it may be lavish praise. Disapproval may be only a sour look, or it may be open anger and perhaps terminated social contact.<sup>63</sup>

Garvey hypothesized that the longer employees work for the same station manager the more their news evaluations will likely be similar to the manager's. He also theorized that news conforms to managerial policy and that content conforms more closely to actual managerial policy than to what is perceived to be

managerial policy by individual staff members. He also speculated that staff members who conform to policy will be paid more than those who don't and that a hiring bias will ensure that staffers already conform to policy before they start work.<sup>64</sup>

Managers and staffers were asked to rank order the same set of news items in order of most important to least important. The decision was based on content of the copy alone, without regard to the availability or quality of film accompanying the story. News items were restricted to local, hard-news stories. He also conducted formal interviews with station managers and news directors. Brief chats with staff were held on the job, but staffers were generally too busy to provide much useful information. Informal discussions over drinks outside proved more fertile.<sup>65</sup> Observations obtained as an unobtrusive observer were also used. When it came to evaluate the data, Garvey concluded that the reliability of the information he received could only be evaluated subjectively and admitted his dissertation should be regarded as "essentially an exploratory one."<sup>66</sup>

Garvey concluded that "it appears that news staff members do absorb the management viewpoint, just as Breed stated. However, this does not seem a universal trait. Instead, it occurs in some newsrooms, but not in others, or at least, not to a measurable degree in others." The degree to which it is absorbed depends on how clearly the staff perceives managerial policy.<sup>67</sup>

Garvey's results suggest Breed was wrong when he assumed the staff is more liberal than management. "It was not liberalism per

se that worked against conformity to policy; instead, it appears it was the difference of political opinion involved. Breed failed to examine the possibility that a conservative staff, working for a liberal publisher, might demonstrate the same resistance to policy."<sup>68</sup>

Conformity is not rewarded financially, Garvey found. Salary is not an important element.<sup>69</sup> Likewise, hiring and firing policies were not found to be major factors in conformity. The use of praise and criticism were found to play a role, but the evidence was "somewhat uncertain" about how significant a factor they are.<sup>70</sup>

The most striking element in the question of hiring and firing is the almost total lack of job security for news directors. Here, it is evident that management hires and fires at will:

.....  
This kind of security cannot speak well for the independence of news directors. As one who was interviewed put it, "I know who signs my pay check."<sup>71</sup>

Garvey's findings support Breed's in general, but with some refinements.

Social control appears to be a much more complex system than Breed suggested. Elements such as pre-established values and differences of political viewpoint seem to work against it. Misperception of policy, which Breed did not even consider, appears to occur and to limit the conformity of content to policy.

Moreover the simple description of social control as socialization to group norms appears to be insufficient. Perhaps a better description would be that social control is a learning process for news values, or at least one of the learning processes for news values. In this respect, what the study shows about the manner in which newspapers develop their news judgment may be of greater value than what it has to say about Breed's theories.<sup>72</sup>

Breed's findings were supported by social scientist Wilbur Schramm. "... the viewpoints and preferences of management are often communicated subtly and silently to writers, editors, and producers,"<sup>73</sup> Schramm said in citing Breed's research. He said social control in the newsroom is one of several factors that "combine to encourage the selecting out of information and material which is too contrary to the established order of things and inclusion of materials congruent with the status quo."<sup>74</sup> He raised the importance of studying mass media effects in the context of the whole society of which the media are a part. "... to the extent that media policy reflects the norms of a given culture or subculture, so too will the information they transmit."<sup>75</sup>

The importance of the effect of news policy is illustrated when social scientists point out the key role the media play in maintaining social systems by setting the public agenda. The individuals at each media outlet are affected by that outlet's policy and, since each outlet's policy is set by publishers who generally reflect the same values as other publishers, the overall result for the mass-audience, main-stream media is, in effect, one all-embracing news policy. Melvin de Fleur wrote:

Actions of any given human being generally follow the expectations imposed on him by the cultural norms of his society and of those who interact with him. Cultural norms, then, in the form of expectations regarding conduct that people in a group have of each other, are an inseparable part of a social system in reality. ... it is clearly recognized that individual human beings who are acting out their roles within a system (or any other stimulus field) have internal feelings, thoughts, attitudes, and other value

orientations that are in some part determinants of their action. These internal psychological behaviors in reality play important parts in shaping the manner in which individual actors in a given system of action play out their parts. However, within a particular social system (a given family, community, factory etc.) the range of variation of these psychological influences cannot be too great or the system would disintegrate.<sup>76</sup>

Breed lamented in his Thesis that new insights into social systems by Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils were not published until Breed's research was completed.<sup>77</sup> Their work puts the maintenance of news policy in context with the broader sociological outlook:

Indeed, one of the most important functional imperatives of the maintenance of social systems is that the value-orientations of the different actors in the same social system must be integrated some measure to a common system. All ongoing social systems do actually show a tendency toward a general system of common cultural orientations. The sharing of value-orientations is especially crucial, although consensus with respect to systems of ideas and expressive symbols are also very important determinants of stability in the social system.<sup>78</sup>

## 2. Role of publishers and other managers

A number of prominent social scientists have pointed out the key role the media play in our social system and concluded that more study should be done in this area, especially the cross-membership of media personnel with other power groups in the community. "Media elites have close personal relationships with political elites, cultural elites, and the elites of other types of business," said Leo Bogart in a report outlining areas of media management that merit further study.<sup>79</sup> Bogart's research of media management discovered that professional ethics may overcome

an individual's personal desire for advancement within the hierarchy. Industry codes of conduct may conflict with what is expected by senior management. "A formal code of conduct or ~~personal~~ ethics may command a greater sense of allegiance than an employer, and an executive may be more concerned about maintaining the esteem of his reference group than about personal advancement."<sup>80</sup>

Bogart's research came to conclusions similar to Breed's concerning the likelihood of some reporters trying to buck news policy. But, he said, there is a point when even the most permissive or indifferent absentee owner asserts his residual property rights, "when his income, equity, or cherished beliefs are threatened," and that these occurrences serve as a reminder where the ultimate power lies.<sup>81</sup>

Canadian scholars have shown great interest in the role of the media in society and, specifically, the influence of publishers on the news. Historian Carlton McNaught's view of how the newspaper business operates was written in 1940:

Since newspaper publishing has become such a complex business, it is natural that a publisher should be first and foremost a businessman. There has come about a separation of the business and professional elements in newspaper production, with both business and editorial functions largely delegated by the publisher but with the latter giving his principal attention to the business side. One result is that the publisher acquires a point of view which is that of the business groups in a community rather than of other and perhaps opposed groups; and this point of view is more likely than not to be reflected in his paper's treatment of news.<sup>82</sup>

John Porter's classic The Vertical Mosaic, which examined Canadian society in detail, devoted considerable space to the media's role and that of the publishers who control the news.

Owners of papers, it is sometimes said, regard their publications purely as financial assets, and, providing these assets make a reasonable profit, owners do little to establish the ideological tone of editorials or to interfere with the presentation of news. ... One can scarcely imagine that the owners of newspapers were not parties to the decisions of almost all metropolitan dailies to support the Liberal party in the 1963 general election. It is clear, too, that some of the dynamic owners of newspapers, men such as Joseph Atkinson [of The Toronto Star] and George McCullagh [of the Globe and Mail, and the Telegram, at different times], for example, have had a very direct influence on the ideological complexion of their newspapers. No one would seriously hold that owners make decisions all along the hard-pressed and carefully timed schedule of newspaper production, but it can be said that they set down general boundary lines which will become known to the editorial staffs.<sup>83</sup>

But Porter ridiculed the idea of journalists as "professionals" having the ability to take over complete operation of a newspaper with the owner playing no role:

For some the press is ideally free when some public spirited man of wealth or a corporation buys or builds a newspaper and hands over its operation to a "professional" group of journalists who run the paper in the public interest, or at least their interpretation of the public interest. Owners supposedly do not interfere with the "professional" role of publisher and editor. Built into this "professional" role is the technical competence required to produce a newspaper, as well as great wisdom to make profound judgments in editorials and in the presentation of news about the state of the nation and the world. Perhaps no other occupational group in modern society appropriates to itself a role which requires all-seeing wisdom into so many spheres. This technical competence and this insight into all human and social problems is supposed to be acquired through a career as a newspaper reporter. ... There is, of course, nothing professional about the role of newspaper reporting. As a group reporters have no

disciplined academic training in any particular sphere, although they seem prepared to write about almost anything. They do not as an occupational group license themselves, govern their affairs, or establish their own norms of performance. As Bernard Shaw pointed out long ago they have no public register. As an occupational group they are not highly paid, nor do they seem to have high prestige. Hence, it is unlikely that, as a profession, journalists would have the social standing or professional expertise or group solidarity to offset ownership pressure, although occasionally, as individuals editors can rise to great prominence.<sup>84</sup>

Porter's views were reinforced by another prominent Canadian social scientist, Wallace Clement. Clement's study of Canada's corporate elite<sup>85</sup> singled out the media for special attention and left no doubt that he believes owners influence directly and indirectly the content of their papers:

... if editors are not in fact part of the controlling family, as is often the case, they tend to be long-time employees who have spent their entire careers with the company. In the long process before being selected by controlling interests to become an editor, they come to learn the 'rules of the game' through the long socialization and selection process.<sup>86</sup>

An MA thesis at McMaster University, with Clement as an adviser, detailed a study of Canadian newspaper managers and their effects on the content of their newspapers. Based on a 33.9% response to 513 questionnaires, Debra Clarke attempted to analyze the roles of selection and recruitment of top news executives. She concluded that those who hold important editorial positions within major media and broadcast outlets "are substantially indistinguishable from dominant media capitalists" and that therefore "these individuals can be considered class agents for the media capitalists."<sup>87</sup> She concluded media owners



"recruit appropriate class representatives to the critical media positions in order to insure their own class interests." This selection process allows for the appearance of independence and "non-intervention" to be sustained.<sup>88</sup>

The relationship between editors and publishers and how they work together to set and enforce ethical standards on daily newspapers was subject of a massive study of a representative sample of all U.S. papers done for the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1983.<sup>89</sup> The researchers expressed surprise at finding that publishers who take an active role on the news side came out far ahead, as perceived by editors, as the best type of publishers on the issues of ethical standards and newsroom morale.<sup>90</sup> "Such a finding runs clearly counter to the traditional belief that business and news operations ought to be widely separated."<sup>91</sup> The findings are interesting, but should be kept in perspective for use in the present research. The survey considered only top editors' views of their relationship with their publishers and did not solicit lower-level staffers' opinions.

Former Washington Post senior editor, turned academic, Ben Bagdikian, has concentrated much of his research on the publishers' role in the newsroom and his conclusions fit in well with those of Breed.

Whatever his title, the chief editorial executive selects his subordinates and transmits his values through them. New visitors to newsrooms are usually surprised by the lack of constant communication among staff workers and the apparent casualness of decision-making on news. In reality, the organization is

suffused with the values of the executives, producing a unanimity, or near unanimity, enforced not only by the punishment-and-reward system but also by the iron demand of smoothly processing information in a limited period of time.<sup>92</sup>

Bagdikian says new reporters do not have to be told what "news" is at their newspaper or broadcast station. They simply see what kind of stories get on Page One or get significant air time during prime-time news broadcasts.<sup>93</sup> He said it is significant that a common topic of conversation among editors at late-night informal sessions during their conventions is the problem of placating their proprietors while attempting to maintain professional standards of journalism. "The conflict is seldom overt. Where it breaks into the open the editor is almost invariably dismissed ...."<sup>94</sup>

A study by Ardyth B. Sohn and Leonard H. Chusmir, published in 1985, surveyed 54 newspaper managers and compared predicted motivation profiles for several newspaper management jobs to the actual profiles of men and women holding those jobs. They found newspaper managers have an above average need for power and below average need for achievement.<sup>95</sup> They could find no concrete connections between predicted need fit and job satisfaction, even though studies of seven occupational categories other than newspaper professionals show contrary results.

Carleton University student Lorraine Gane sent questionnaires to managing editors at 115 Canadian newspapers in 1977 assessing whether publishers were active in influencing the news. She concluded from the answers of the 40% who responded that: (1) The

larger the circulation of the paper, the less the publisher influences news coverage; (2) there is less influence from publishers of chain newspapers than independent papers; (3) there is greater publisher influence on local news than national news; (4) publishers tend to exert influence on news stories which directly affect the revenue of the paper, like stories on major advertisers, taxation and employees of the newspaper; and, (5) there is a "high degree" of publisher influence on news stories that indirectly affect the revenue of the paper, like political parties, organized labor and government intervention in the economy.<sup>96</sup>

A more extensive study of publisher influence was carried out in 1967 when a former editor and assistant publisher David Bowers surveyed managing editors from 600 newspapers in the U.S. about their publisher's activity in directing the use or non-use, content and display of news.<sup>97</sup> "Whether this influence is good or bad again becomes difficult to evaluate. ... Who can rate whether a publisher's activity in the newsroom is constructive or obstructive, inspiring or interfering, contributory to a vigilance against slips in objective coverage or aimed at pressing of egoistic whims?"<sup>98</sup> His findings were largely the same as Gane's, cited above.

Studies into the perception of bias in newspapers shed light on the influence owners and top managers have over news content. Noting that the perception of bias changes with the critics' point of view ("... bias, like truth or beauty, is also in the

eye of the beholder"), William Tillinghost studied perceptions of bias by surveying a sample of readers of the San Jose Mercury and San Jose News after 17 Ridder papers in the U.S. merged with 16 Knight papers to become the Knight-Ridder group.<sup>99</sup> Most San Jose readers found the papers less biased after the merger, which shows readers feel ownership effects news coverage.<sup>100</sup> Reporters at the papers, who felt the papers showed extreme bias before the merger, had remarkably similar perceptions of bias as news sources in the city. Reporters also felt the post-merger papers were less biased.<sup>101</sup> "Twenty-five years ago Breed concluded that every newspaper had policies which resulted in biased news coverage. This case study suggested this is not necessarily true today. It also suggests that the perception of bias can be greatly reduced by a management involved with quality journalistic standards, but that it may be impossible to eliminate bias because the audience is not completely neutral."<sup>102</sup>

The relatively obscure issue of concern about news policy effect on news coverage was given heightened public awareness by two best-selling books that showed the behind-the-scenes operations of The New York Times;<sup>103</sup> and Time magazine, the CBS television network, The Washington Post and The Los Angeles Times.<sup>104</sup> Gay Talese's The Kingdom and the Power was filled with anecdotes about the powerful and secretive New York Times. He revealed, for instance, the background of the Times' decision not to publish all it knew about the planned 1961 U.S. invasion of

The Bay of Pigs in Cuba, which turned out to be a fiasco. President John F. Kennedy later lamented the Times' decision and said he wished the paper had printed all it knew. Talese said Times publisher Orvil Dryfoos had come down to the newsroom and ordered editors to tone down and self-censor what the paper knew about the impending invasion. The incident isn't unique because the publisher interfered with the news on an important story, Talese said, but because it was made public. Managing editor Clifton Daniels mentioned in a speech five years after the incident that the publisher's order, supported by his top journalist, James Reston, had caused considerable discord among Times editors at the time. And The Times carried the text of Daniel's speech. Talese said that until that point the public was led to believe that Times editors always were in agreement on all issues.<sup>105</sup> But on most issues the newspaper was successful at keeping its debates behind the thick walls of The Times building.

Most of the grievance aired in Talese's book, however, were about the Times' middle-management bureaucracy's role in maintaining company policy and isolating the publisher from its implementation. Talese referred to the power of the "bull pen" of anonymous editors whose job it is to read every story and determine whether it would get in the paper, how long it would be and where it would be placed, at all times conscious of the publisher and senior editors looking over their shoulders.<sup>106</sup>

High power at the Times is a vaporous element--energy is harnessed, pressure is built, decisions emanate from a corporate collective, but it is difficult to see which man did what, and it often seems

that nobody really did anything. Decisions appear to ooze out of a large clutch of executive bodies all jammed together, leaning against one another, shifting, sidling and shrugging, bending backwards, sideways, and finally tending toward some tentative decision: but whose muscles were flexed? whose weight was decisively felt? The reporters in the newsroom do not know. They know a great deal about the clandestine affairs of city government, Wall Street, the United Nations, but do not know what goes on at the top of the Times.<sup>107</sup>

David Halberstam's The Powers That Be followed in Talese's footsteps, using anecdotes and revelations about powerful media personalities and news-behind-the-news tales of well-known events and public figures to illustrate the effect media outlet owners have on reporting the news of the day.

### 3. The role of journalists

The idea of newspaper managers attempting to set the public agenda has been criticized on the practical level as well as the theoretical. Observers see dangers in newspapers trying to control what readers are offered instead of letting the news of the day determine events. Letting events dictate the news, of course, would mean letting newsmakers set the agenda instead of news media executives. Besides natural disasters, accidents, the weather, crime etc., this would mean giving people like politicians more of a role in deciding what people read about. (Whether this is more desirable than letting media news policies set the agenda is a good question, but beyond the scope of this paper).

A study of reporting on the North Carolina legislature in 1973 found that what newspapers consider to be major issues may

differ significantly from what legislatures consider important.<sup>108</sup> The study, by William Thomas Gormley Jr., compared newspapers' agendas and the legislators' agendas and found that newspapers tend to downplay complicated and unpleasant issues that legislators thought to be important, like mental health and insurance. But when the agenda, as defined by rank ordering of 25 specific issues, was compared with coverage, it was found that state senators managed not to let the newspapers set the agenda for them. Both senators and the newspapers, however, agreed overall on what the major issues were.<sup>109</sup>


Bogart reported results of a survey he took of 52 managing editors from across the U.S. who were attending a convention. He asked them to guess the public's rating of interest in 120 issues that had been measured in a national survey of public opinion. He was startled to find there was almost no correlation between what the managing editors and the public rated as interesting topics. The managing editors could have done almost as well at predicting what interests their readers if they had flipped a coin instead of using their news judgments.<sup>110</sup>

Journalist Walter Lipmann was appalled to note in 1949 that no American political scientist or sociologist had yet written a book on news gathering.<sup>111</sup> He wrote that the disdain of professionals toward the press is reflected in public opinion and lamented the plight of the journalist: Scientists were able to use clear, provable, demonstrable acts to free themselves from theological control, but journalists have no support in their own

conscience of fact. "The control exercised over him by the opinions of his employers and readers, is not the control of truth by prejudice, but of one opinion by another opinion that is not demonstrably less true."<sup>112</sup>

Breed's study of how content is controlled was largely inspired by Leo Rosten's pioneering study The Washington Correspondents published in 1937.<sup>113</sup> Rosten was the first to shift focus on the reporter in control analysis, although many who followed him reverted to studying editors. Using interviews and questionnaires, Rosten studied the decision-making process of national political reporters in Washington. Rosten found that the experienced reporters publishers send to the nation's capital "sense" what is expected of them without specific orders when choosing what to write and how to write it. He said the correspondents were under no illusion about their obligations to write according to a definite policy.

In a follow-up study 25 years later, William Rivers found the situation had improved.<sup>114</sup> When Rosten asked correspondents to respond to the statement, "My orders are to be objective, but I know how my paper wants stories played," 60.6 per cent agreed; 34.7 per cent disagreed and 4.5 per cent were uncertain. When Rivers asked the same question in 1962, only 9.5 per cent agreed. When Rosten posed the statement, "In my experience I've had stories played down, cut or killed for 'policy' reasons," 55.6 per cent agreed, 41.6 per cent disagreed and 2.7 per cent were uncertain. When Rivers posed the same statement in 1962, only 7.3





per cent agreed.<sup>115</sup> Rivers did not conclude that this apparent lessening of control disproved Breed's theory. He said it is possible the perceived reduction in home-office pressure is explained by the possibility that social controls have brought correspondents' reports more in line with their superiors' policies, but it is also likely that improved professional standards and education of correspondents contributed to the perceived reduction in control.<sup>116</sup>

Sociologist Herbert Gans found much support for Breed's theories in a study of CBS and NBC network newsmen and staffers at Newsweek and Time magazines. In a study published in 1979<sup>117</sup> based on data he gathered as a participant-observer in the newsrooms, he concluded that journalists are an elite who view the news through their own set of values. He said performance is affected by the internal restraints of the organization -- peer group pressure, division of labor, the reliance on news as a value and the way the hierarchial set-up lets individuals act autonomously while at the same time controlling their actions fairly strictly.

Journalists claim freedom from interference not only by non-journalists but also by superiors; they have the right to make their own news judgments, which is why they cannot be given orders. To be sure, individual autonomy is frequently illusionary, especially in a group enterprise. Moreover, the suggestions of powerful superiors are, in fact, thinly veiled orders, requiring polite circumlocutions in which demands are phrased as requests.

.....  
 Writers, therefore, must combine their own judgment with what they think will please their editors; if they have no interest in a story or no firm point of view, they will write only to please them.

Sometimes they will do so even when they have a point of view but do not want to work all night rewriting. Pleasing editors, however, is more difficult than might be imagined, because they do not always know enough about a story to develop their own judgments. An experienced Time writer once described the problem in an internal memorandum: "Every writer has a working knowledge of what his editor wants. Unless he's incorrigibly stubborn or independently wealthy, he tries to give it to him. But a senior editor doesn't always know what he wants. In the words of a senior editor, ... 'I don't know what I don't want until I get the writer's story.' " Even when editors know what they want, however, they may not say so, partly to preserve the writer's autonomy, partly to see what the writer will add when they request a rewrite.118

Writers may know what their editors want and try to give them what they want, as Gans' Time writer says, but he may not see this as adhering to a news policy or, at least, admit it. In one of the first studies of its kind (1940), the majority of reporters at the Milwaukee Journal said they believed their paper to be fair.119 In response to the question "The Milwaukee Journal allows policy to affect its news columns, 70 per cent of the reporters who returned questionnaires either disagreed or strongly disagreed; only 15 per cent agreed, or strongly agreed, with the remainder undecided.120

A 1965 study of 28 telegraph editors at California dailies backed Breed's "osmosis" theory of learning policy.121 The study found that newspapers' news policies were a factor in choosing what wire stories to use. The policy was not enforced directly with orders like "you can't print that," but there was usually a "tacit understanding" of what was not to be displayed prominently or what should be given "a better ride."122

Dianne Lynne Cherry concluded in a 1985 study that a closed newsroom society means the definition of news by members of the society, the journalists, are not tied to readers but to the other members of the newsroom.<sup>123</sup> But if the newsroom is a reference group within the general society, there are also reference groups within the newsroom, she found. "Implications for newspaper audiences are that the newspaper's function can be influenced and the definition of news can be determined by the significant reference group."<sup>124</sup> Some diversity between reference groups within a newsroom is healthy, she concluded, but too much can result in newsroom dissention and conflict.

A 1983 study by Fred Enders attempted to discover how journalists say they acquired ethical values and attitudes that frame the basis for their decisions.<sup>125</sup> His findings support Breed. Enders said there is an ethics socialization system or process in newsrooms. "... it is imperative for editors and reporters to understand the effects on them of the newsroom environment and their colleagues, not just as it involves ethics, but professional skills and behaviour as well."<sup>126</sup> Journalistic experiences and colleagues' behaviour ranked two and three in a list of eight factors having influence on present professional ethical values and attitudes. (Parents/Early home life ranked first.)<sup>127</sup> Journalists look to fellow journalists, particularly people doing the same type of work as they do (reporter-reporter, copy editor-copy editor etc.) to learn ethical behaviour. "The weight given to colleagues' behaviour as an influencing factor

and the large number of respondents who said they were affected by unwritten and peer-presented ethical 'codes' strongly indicated the presence of role modelling and an ethical socialization."<sup>128</sup>

In an experiment by J.S. Kerrick et al. with students in 1964, "reporters" presented with a hypothetical news policy wrote stories biased in favour of the news policy. Interestingly, students who personally disagreed with the position taken by the news policy bent over backwards in writing news stories that supported the policy. Their stories were more biased than "reporters" who agreed with the policy.<sup>129</sup>

A study published in 1971 indicated that an editors' authoritarianism could generate an editorial bias manifested in playing up and playing down certain elements in the news.<sup>130</sup> Thomas Madden examined the relationship between psychological characteristics and professional behaviour during the peak of student protests in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Twenty-eight editors at the Philadelphia Inquirer were tested. Editorial judgment was found to be strongly related to the editor's psychological make-up, as shown by judgments over stories about the student protests. One insight from the study particularly useful in considering how news policy is transmitted is that one of the contradictions of authoritarianism is the "proud individualism" of the authoritarian and his tendency to submit to power and authority.<sup>131</sup>

Former Toronto Telegram Ottawa correspondent Peter Dempson provided considerable evidence about the transmission of news policy to reporters and into the newspaper in his candid autobiography Assignment Ottawa.<sup>132</sup> Dempson, called one of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's "gallery pets" in a 1968 Toronto Life article rating the Ottawa Press Gallery,<sup>133</sup> said he was disappointed as a young member of the gallery covering the 1949 federal election because his stories about Liberal prime minister Louis St. Laurent were getting buried while reporter Norman Campbell's stories on Conservative challenger George Drew were almost always on Page One with big headlines. "I was fully aware, of course, that The Telegram was a Conservative-leaning newspaper and that it was supporting George Drew. I realized that the publisher, George McCullagh, and Drew were close personal friends. But I couldn't help think that the Prime Minister should have merited a little better treatment than he was receiving." He met Campbell when both campaign trains happened to stop at the same station and asked him for advice on getting better play for his stories. "Give them [the editors] a gimmick -- a little twist," he was told. If one or two people in an audience boo, play up the interruption. If the candidate draws a big crowd but fails to rouse them, write that up. If he attracts several thousand people to a hall but there are some empty seats, play up the angle that St. Laurent failed to fill the hall." "Light began to dawn," Dempson wrote. "I realized that what my stories lacked was the pro-Conservative slant. Campbell pointed

out that The Toronto Star, our main competition, was using the same approach in reporting the activities of Drew." A few nights later St. Laurent drew 2,000 people in Ottawa. There were 50 empty seats in one corner. Dempson made sure The Tely got a picture of the empty seats and made note of disruptions caused by one person in the front row, who was the daughter of a prominent local Conservative. The picture ran across four columns on Page One the next day and the story topped the page. "From then on it was nearly always the same. It was as simple as that. I had no complaints about the treatment my stories received after that. The slanting got worse as we moved along."134 He noted that The Star's slanting was just as bad and that after the election (Drew got trounced) McCullagh gathered The Tely staff and said the paper "looked silly" and that "I want you to know that at no time did I suggest that we should cover the campaign the way we did. I never issued any instructions to conduct a pro-Drew or anti-St. Laurent campaign."135

Journalist-critic-academic Walter Stewart -- acknowledging that he was flying in the face of a new mythology that The Telegram was a gutsy newspaper and a fun place to work, which sprung up after The Tely folded in 1971 -- described his days there as a rookie reporter in 1953:

What I learned about journalism there was that it was a suspect craft, dominated by hypocrisy, exaggeration, and fakery. At the Tely, we toadied to advertisers, eschewed investigative reporting, slanted our stories gleefully to fit the party line (Conservative) and to appeal to the one man who counted -- the publisher, John Bassett.136

In addition to the effects of a newspaper's policy on the news, the influence of news sources plays a role on the actions of journalists as do journalists' perceptions of the wants and needs of their audiences. The influence of sources and audience on journalists has been the subject of recent research.

Insight into the effects of news sources on journalists is provided by a new Canadian study of social deviance, and how journalists participate in social reaction to deviance and help define it.<sup>137</sup> Criminologists Richard Ericson, Patricia Baranek and Janet Chan studied reporters at work at The Globe and Mail and Toronto television station CBLT in 1982 and 1983. They said

... the creation of news is not ... a matter of the personal whim and fancy of the journalist. Rather, it is a matter of systemic relations among journalists and their sources. It is a product of the cultural and social organizations of news work, not of events in the world or the personal inclination of journalists.<sup>138</sup>

The study concluded that traditional sociological research in newsrooms failed to recognize the occupational-cultural rules of journalists that allow them excuses to take actions that do not seem to be in conformity with the prevailing norms of society as a whole.<sup>139</sup> They found that rather than being influenced strongly by concern about the audience or the restraints of their news organizations, reporters have considerable latitude to report the news the way they see it, but the way they see it is largely determined by the people from whom they get the news.

The self-referential nature of journalism means that journalists do not develop their knowledgeability through their general readership or audience. There are no systematic surveys for journalistic purposes whereby the public is asked what they find newsworthy, relevant

or worthwhile. There are surveys and ratings on the marketing side, but these are based on news-business criteria related to having an audience to sell to advertisers, not journalistic criteria related to knowing the audience for the purpose of making better news judgments. At best, knowledge of the audience is derived from each journalist talking independently to friends, associates, and regular news sources. Thus, journalism is concerned primarily with communications among elite authorized knowers. Journalists are oriented to the audience of regular sources-as-reporters who join them in their hermeneutic circle. Everyone else is left to watch, listen to, or read the distant representations that form this symbolic spectacle. For the journalist, the general audience is only imagined as something he represents, not surveyed in a representative manner.<sup>140</sup>

On the other hand, preliminary research by Stuart Surlin, Walter Soderlund and Marlene Cuthbert, all from the University of Windsor, indicates that attempts to meet the needs of the audience play a larger role in determining news content than previously recognized. Their "symbiotic theory of news" suggests that reporters will present news information in a manner consistent with their own social and psychological environments.<sup>141</sup> Their hypothesis is that "through the combination of reporter...enculturation/socialization, and, the desire to achieve psychological balance both with one's readers and for the benefit of one's readers, news reports will inevitably result in a biased presentation."<sup>142</sup> The theory sees reporters in symbiotic relationships with their organizations, news sources and the audience. Since reporters "desire to serve the psychological and informational needs of their audience" the information they convey will "parallel conventional wisdom for the audience and offer a sense of 'well-being.'" This 'well-



being' could be called 'psychological symbiosis;' the news is presented in a fashion that is efficiently read and digested, while corresponding to a normative belief system held by one's culture."143 Reporters attempt to maintain a psychological balance among their readers and reduce dissonance.144 Research into media portrayals of Maurice Bishop as prime minister of Grenada supports the premise.145

#### 4. Boosterism

A specific example of the effects on a newspaper staff of management enforcing a news policy is in the area of what reporters call "boosterism". In papers where publishers become part of the community establishment their papers often become part of the effort to make everyone feel good about their community by playing up good news and playing down bad news that reflects negatively on their town or city. Worker alienation is evident in many types of jobs and journalism is no exception. Boosterism is often cited as one of the causes of reporter and editor alienation and the social control aspects of enforcing policies like boosterism is a real-life illustration of the serious effects news policy can have on journalists' morale.

Two examples cited in recent years in The Columbia Journalism Review serve to illustrate the problem.

The Flint, Michigan Journal is cited as an example of a paper illustrating the worst kind of publisher interference. Boosterism of the big company in town, General Motors, and

friends of the publisher on civic committees occurred to the degree that major stories were being kept from the paper in the 1970s. Serious issues like unemployment, crime and the financial state of the city's major tourist attraction, AutoWorld, were being buried or not printed. A new aggressive managing editor was appointed in 1978. He tried to end boosterism and was fired within three years.<sup>146</sup>

The dangers of boosterism and effects of direct application of news policy are also seen in two Florida papers owned by the same company, the Florida Times-Union and the Jacksonville Journal.

The Jacksonville dailies, in fact, have for many years been the laughing stock of Florida journalism, due in large part to their ownership by the powerful and influential Seaboard Coast Line Industries, which also controlled the merged Atlantic Coast Line and Seaboard Railroads, as well the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. The common joke in the region was that trains never hit cars in Jacksonville papers; cars always hit trains.<sup>147</sup>

Paul K. Harrad, when newly-hired as city editor at the Times-Union, was stunned at the level of boosterism he encountered and betrayed a common attitude: "I mean, I worked for bad papers in my time, but nobody ever thought about it."<sup>148</sup> Journal reporter Deborah Brunner recalls being summoned to the publisher's office and, in the presence of a man whose business practices she was investigating, being ordered to reveal both her sources and her information. Another reporter was ordered off his beat for detailing a civic development project's projected cost.

While incidents like this undoubtedly helped to foster timidity in the newsroom, in Harrad's view reporters were timid by long tradition. "I think there was more often an air of sacred cows in town than there were sacred cows," said Harrad. "But that doesn't matter. If you think the sacred cows are there, they are there. I'd assign writers to stories and I'd get back the story and it would be very soft. I'd say, 'let's toughen this up.' And they'd say, 'Well, that's the story.' What was happening was that they were pulling their punches from the very start because they thought they had to, and the truth is they didn't have to.149

When forced to operate under a rigid news policy in Jacksonville, the reporters either quit, unconsciously or somewhat numbly went along with it, or went into a type of reporter's shell where reporters wait to be assigned stories, rather than chasing them up on their own. One seasoned Jacksonville reporter said, "I wouldn't give them a new idea if my life depended on it. Honest to God, if the mayor got shot right next door, I'd drive right on by."150

A well-known example of boosterism that is still notorious in journalism circles in Ontario is the Kitchener-Waterloo Record's participation with other news media outlets in a conspiracy to keep out of the news word of a massive downtown commercial development in Kitchener until after it had been approved at a secret meeting of city council in 1971. It is a good illustration of how a publisher's policy to be a "good corporate citizen" by temporarily suspending journalistic virtue was accepted, apparently without question, by the paper's senior editors and all of its reporters, except for one who went to the University of Waterloo student newspaper and broke the story.151

J.E. Motz, publisher of The Record, the only daily newspaper in the twin cities of Kitchener-Waterloo with a combined population of about 130,000 at the time, who agreed to the blackout, was a director of Canada Trust, which was involved with financing the development of a large shopping area on urban renewal land on Kitchener's main street. The Record was about to vacate its old building across the street from the new development and the old building's value would likely increase if the development went ahead. W.D. McGregor, general manager of the cities' television station and AM and FM radio stations was on the city's development committee for the project and also agreed to the blackout. The blackout was supposedly needed to keep land prices from going up and scuttling the development. The deal was made between the city planning director and The Record's assistant publisher, Sandy Baird after Baird checked with Motz and the paper's senior editors. The agreement was so strong that it essentially censored an alderman who tried to warn the public. After the dissident reporter forced The Record and other media to reveal the plans, The Record's explanation to its readers was, "Sometimes a newspaper's obligation to be a 'good corporate citizen' is stronger than its obligation to print the news". Once the story broke, there is evidence the paper's full editorial support spilled over into its news columns. Editor C.B. Schmidt admitted having an editorial writer compose a fictitious letter to the editor in favour of the development and a letter signed by Schmidt's wife favorable to the project was published. The city

editor was reprimanded for giving prominent display to a story about a petition opposed to the deal and stories were ordered rewritten to bury negative comments about the project with reporters simply being told "the publisher wants a positive approach." The reporter who broke the story, Angel Castillo, said, "eventually everybody writing stories connected with Oxlea [the developer] got the message and began ignoring any negative points that emerged at public meetings."152

Senator Keith Davey, who had just completed his study of the media in Canada, said The Kitchener-Waterloo Record incident is disturbing because it is "an example of a malady that affects a high proportion of the newspapers and broadcasting stations in the country."153 Davey noted that The Record told his committee "we have little trouble with pressure groups trying to influence the content of our paper. Perhaps it is because we have always resisted them." Davey said the "good corporate citizen" argument is dangerous and that journalists can't behave like businessmen. "What happened in Kitchener, I think, indicates that even cities that appear to have a healthy press in fact have a paternalistic press -- a collection of journalists who can be seduced into the belief that their interests are identical with some congenial part of the community."154

### 5. Gatekeeper studies

David Manning White's study of a news editor, "The Gate Keeper"<sup>155</sup> in 1950, spawned a series of studies over the years that, though often somewhat flawed and concentrating on middle-level editors at the expense of publishers and reporters, added much to social control analysis.

In his original 1949 classic study, White classified by content all wire stories chosen and rejected by a wire editor at a non-metropolitan mid-western U.S. newspaper and analyzed his reasons for his choices. "Mr. Gates" used only one-tenth of the column inches of copy he received.<sup>156</sup> "It is only when we study the reasons given by Mr. Gates for rejecting almost nine-tenths of the wire copy (in his search for the one-tenth for which he has space) that we begin to understand how highly subjective, how reliant upon value-judgments based on the 'gate keeper's' own set of experiences, attitudes and expectations the communication of 'news' really is."<sup>157</sup> In explaining some of the factors in his decision-making about news, Mr. Gates said one of his preferences was for stories "tailored to suit our needs."<sup>158</sup>

Walter Geiber studied 16 telegraph editors at Wisconsin papers in 1956. Only one admitted to being strongly bitter about conforming to policy, but several said after many years on the job they knew instinctively about what stories to pick. Six said they tended to "go along" with their papers' political outlook. Nine said they were not influenced by any policy other than to be fair.<sup>159</sup>

Paul B. Snider paid a return visit to White's "Mr. Gates" in 1966 and found him still at the same job.<sup>160</sup> His paper was under new ownership, he had only one wire service to choose from instead of three and his ulcer was a little worse, but his attitudes had not changed much in 17 years, although he was more conscious of his biases and tried harder not to let them influence his story selection. "Mr. Gates knows and agrees with the written and unwritten news policy of his paper," Snider concluded.<sup>161</sup>

(Somewhat disconcerting, especially in view of all the studies and analyses about gatekeeping that followed White's project, Snider discovered that Mr. Gates had apparently misunderstood some of White's questions!)

Content analysis by Lewis Donohew on 17 small Kentucky papers in 1962 provides further evidence, from a different direction than Breed's, that publisher attitude is an important factor in the news channel.<sup>162</sup> Donohew studied various factors affecting gatekeepers on news decisions about medicare. Had the journalists' credo been true that the publisher's opinion should be contained on the editorial page and not in the news columns, "we would have expected only random correlations between scores on coverage and position of publisher. Instead, it was found that these two variables were strongly related at a level well beyond that which could have occurred by chance."<sup>163</sup> News coverage where publishers favored medicare was strongly biased in favour, and vice-versa. "... Publisher attitude appeared to hold up as the

greatest single 'force' operating within the news channel. ... there is little to indicate that either perceived community opinion or community conditions are significant forces in the news channel."164

Ruth C. Flegal and Steven H. Chaffee studied the gatekeeping role of reporters and published their findings in 1971. They tested the influence of three factors on decisions by reporters ("the first 'gate' in the process"): reporters' own opinions; reporters' perceptions of editors' opinions; and reporters' perceptions of their readers' opinions.165 Reporters were asked a series of questions about how much they were influenced by the various factors and their answers were compared with their reporting. They concluded that the reporters' own opinions were the strongest influence. Views of editors and readers, when they differed from the reporters' views, were much less influential. The researchers expressed surprise that the reporters recognized this and were willing to admit it.166 The researchers also raised the possibility that editors know their reporters' opinions and base their choices on that knowledge when assigning reporters to do certain stories.

#### 6. Organizational constraints on newswork

As we have seen, researchers have identified a number of social factors within the newsroom that help maintain policy. Several researchers have also concluded that the organizational set-up in the newsroom contributes significantly to social



control. A newspaper, especially a large one, is a miracle of controlled chaos, with story ideas emanating from several sources, assignments made and stories filed from different geographic and ideological directions. The stories must be edited, placed in the paper and set in type. A rigid organizational framework is a necessity to accomplish the technical and journalistic feat of getting the paper on the street every day, and a strict hierarchy of management is employed to govern the process. This organizational and management structure plays a large role in social factors that govern decision-making in the newsroom.

Interviews with a national sample consisting of 1,313 U.S. journalists in the fall of 1971 under the direction of John W.C. Johnstone found evidence that increasing centralization in the news industry raised job dissatisfaction because of decreases in autonomy. The study focused on the implications of chain ownership and ownership of news media by industrial conglomerates whose primary interest lies outside the news industry.<sup>167</sup>

With more journalists working in large, complex, bureaucratized work settings, Johnstone said, they become more specialized in tasks they perform and control of editorial operations becomes more centralized and fewer personnel share in key editorial decisions.<sup>168</sup> Full professional autonomy for a journalist "involves more than simply freedom to write up a news story as he sees fit: it also means having control over

\*

assignments and having freedom from excessive editorial interference in getting news copy through the final gatekeeper."169

Johnstone's study found that reporters on large papers claim considerable freedom in actual writing, but admit to strong controls over assignments and especially editing. As organizations increase in size there is less two-way vertical communication and its flow tends to become predominantly downward. In large papers, editors meet infrequently with reporters to discuss assignments and stories. Staffers participate less frequently in editorial decision making and feel their professional autonomy is more circumscribed.170 He concluded that despite higher pay and bigger audiences "journalists on the whole seem happier when they work in smaller organizational settings which provide more freedom, greater voices in decision making, less fragmentation of reportorial tasks and more face-to-face contact with superiors."171

Frederick Fico studied influences on reporters' decisions in the press galleries at the Michigan and Indiana state legislatures. Interestingly, he was only partially successful at applying standards of measurement to several reporters from different papers in two different settings. "... complexity and variation, not simplicity and uniformity, seem best to characterize the reporters studied.172 He found some evidence that indicated reporters were influenced by editorial concern for the audience and perceived editorial concern for newsroom

production needs [deadlines etc.], but the self-role concepts were less clear. His conclusion that comparing reporters from several different papers brings mixed results is interesting, but not surprising, since he acknowledged that the process of "newsroom socialization" is a factor in reporters' conduct and the various statehouse reporters come from several different newsrooms.<sup>173</sup>

A study by Steven Shields and Sharon Dunwoody of reporters at the Wisconsin statehouse in 1983 found that reporters in a press gallery situation -- where several reporters work together far away from their respective newsrooms -- constitute a social group and operate in a reporter network that influences the news they report.<sup>174</sup> Despite the traditional expectation of competition, sharing of information had a significant influence on what was written.<sup>175</sup>

David L. Grey made a one-on-one observation of a reporter at work under deadline pressure by accompanying a reporter covering the U.S. Supreme Court for the Washington Star in 1965.<sup>176</sup> The first thing the beat reporter did each morning was check with other beat reporters at the court about what court decisions they were likely to do stories about that day.

The brief interaction among newsmen at the Court provides insight into how reporters keep an eye on what the competition is doing and gives reinforcement to studies that stress the possible importance of peer groups. ... One newsman can become especially interested in a story after becoming aware of some other reporters' interest.<sup>177</sup>

A study by D. Charles Witney of a radio station and wire service bureau<sup>3</sup> in the U.S. mid-west found that organizational structure was geared to the rigid requirements of filling the news hole and meeting deadlines and that having a news policy for direction was a key factor in meeting those requirements.<sup>178</sup> The organization of the newsroom to obtain and process the news was a main influence on news processing, the study concluded, and in an over-load situation -- too many stories for the news hole -- "policy may, in the last analysis, be the most crucial news determinant."<sup>179</sup>

In the mid-1960s, Bagdikian reviewed 84 systematic studies that found significant bias.<sup>180</sup> "There was a high correlation between editorial policy and news bias, he found. Of 84 studies of bias, 74, or 88%, were pro-Republican and pro-conservative.<sup>181</sup> "While [Breed] conceived policy as a negative influence on the flow of information, policy is more generally and usefully conceived ... as the organization's attempt to define its 'product'."<sup>182</sup> Breed's analysis suggests that experienced reporters are left alone because they have absorbed news policy and can be trusted to conform to its dictates, Bagdikian said. He said Breed may be correct, but raises the possibility that autonomy may be more a function of an industry-level norm -- work experience -- rather than to organizational news policy.<sup>183</sup> Organizations find it easier to control what stories reporters are given to work on, rather than trying to influence how they write them or to killing or severely editing

stories which contravene policy, Bagdikian concluded. Given the high value reporters place on autonomy, "such indirect control exercised at the early stage of the news gathering process is less likely to provoke overt conflict and produce morale-damaging consequences."184

Sociologist Chris Argyris spent three years studying the newsroom of a large San Francisco newspaper and produced a book, Beyond the Front Page, that has relevance for studies of social factors on newsroom decision making.185

The San Francisco newspaper was acknowledged as a leader in maintaining the highest professional competence, but suffered from an internal system that created tensions for its staff that produced self-destructive forces -- one-upmanship, hostility and a general hopelessness for change -- and a fear of the authority of the chief executive. Argyris was permitted to analyze the organization and attempt to remedy problems found. He created seminars to ease some of the problems, but they were ended by management and his efforts for change failed. The most frequently mentioned cluster of issues raised during staff interviews were directly or indirectly related to the role of the chief executive officer and to his way of managing the organization. The chief executive also attracted the strongest feeling of ambivalence.186

Argyris came up with a list of factors that enabled people to keep going within a system they are uncomfortable with and do not like:187 (1) People expect the system to be uncomfortable and expect they will dislike it. They raise their frustration level

and tension tolerance level. They are willing to accept an uncomfortable environment and expect that pain and suffering are inevitable. (2) The nature of reporting and editing fulfills the needs of the participants. The needs of the members of the organization are consistent with the needs of the organization: getting and publishing stories. The organization satisfies their need for confirmation from significant others. (3) The system is flexible and permits a range of conceptions of journalism. (4) The system as a whole can semi-consciously adapt to dissatisfaction. It permits dissatisfaction and actually enjoys publicly proclaiming "the emperor has no clothes" about itself by permitting criticism and self-examination. It permits condemnation of the system while working in it. (5) The system permits semi-conscious adaptation to dissatisfaction and criticism by individuals within the system. (6) The "star" system allows certain successful individuals to rise above the organization and fashion their own niche in which they are comfortable. (7) Realization that others can't perform more effectively -- "no matter who did my job or the manager's job, I know the system wouldn't let them improve things."

Argyris was left with a feeling of hopelessness that the newspaper system's sheer inertia could ever be overcome:

Many agree that change is necessary, and the people in power are in favour of it; the less powerful are also in favour of it; the employees do not resist it; and there are no known laws or internal policies to prevent it. Yet even the smallest step toward genuine change seems to exact an enormous amount of energy from everyone concerned. 188

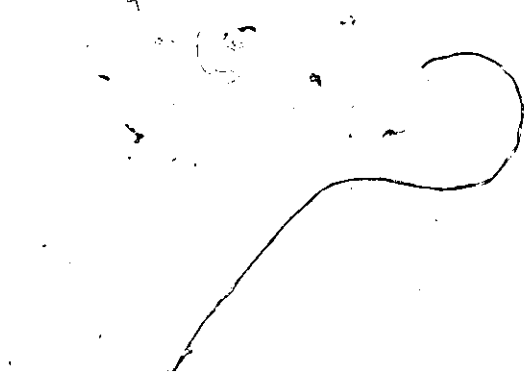
## 7. Newsroom management

Some recent studies have concentrated on management practices within organizational structures specifically as they relate to newsrooms and the journalists who work there. The very existence of these studies and observations by media analysts indicates that there is a feeling that managing a newsroom may have special nuances that require different strategies than managing offices in other industries. A common thread in recent literature is that the newsrooms of today are populated by a different breed of journalists than those who worked long hours for low pay with the front page byline as their only concern and main reward. If, indeed, the workers have changed, it raises the question of whether management techniques, styles and attitudes have changed with them. The answer will have a bearing on the present study of how managers maintain editorial policy within the newsroom.

Susan Miller, director of editorial development for Scripps Howard Newspapers in the U.S., makes it her job to keep tabs on the attitude of journalists working on the large chain's newspapers. She said the new generation of reporters "feels" they have a right to jobs that offer creativity, a clear career path and a separate personal life.<sup>189</sup> She quotes James D. Squires, editor of the Chicago Tribune, as saying that the group of reporters now near 40 are restless and critical and resent authority. The Scripps Howard group's biggest problem is motivation, Miller said. "They don't want to work overtime. They

don't want to work bad hours. There's less determination to be first, because other things, like the quality of their time off, are important." She said editors, like managers in all professions, simply must adjust to workers with a new set of values.190

Kim Woods, a consultant on staff motivation who addressed the 1985 annual convention of the Associated Press Managing Editors, said<sup>a</sup> young professionals have a work orientation, but "their commitment is to the work itself, and not to the company. The basic, human need any manager now has to rely on is: Don't do it for the company, don't do it for the boss. Do it for yourself."191 Woods said today's reporters are not lazy, are very bright, are more mature, aware and articulate than their forbearers in the newsroom. They are practical and, therefore, easy to manage. She has several tips for dealing with "Yuppies" in the newsroom. Managers should: (1) adopt a more collegial style of management; (2) pay more attention to honing management skills; (3) delegate more decisions and authority; (4) be more willing to rethink policies and procedures; (5) foster more discussion of "what we do and why"; (6) pay more attention to hiring practices; (7) provide more performance evaluating and career planning; (8) give more recognition to the importance of employees' home life; (9) upgrade attractiveness of non-management jobs; and, (10) provide higher pay.192





Analyses of management styles at three large U.S. papers-- The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Boston Globe-- provided valuable insight into what is happening in modern newsrooms at three large papers generally regarded as industry leaders. Long articles in The Washington Journalism Review in 1985 about staff squabbles at the three papers<sup>193</sup> showed that in cases where rich families own newspapers and don't take a direct hand in editorial control, powerful editors do. And they manipulate the staff and news policy as effectively as the owners of papers who do take an active hand in the newsroom. Interestingly, it was not the feisty young turks who gave management problems over salaries and appointments: "All good papers have malcontents and their good soldiers. In recent years in both newsrooms [The New York Times and The Washington Post] it is the good soldiers who have mounted insurrections."<sup>194</sup>

Perhaps as a result of the Yuppie-in-the-newsroom phenomenon, an emerging trend in newsrooms today is "the appearance of 'star reporters' who command more money, status and personal freedom than anyone could have imagined a decade ago."<sup>195</sup> Editors say it is needed to keep good people from leaving. The Washington Post has had a "fast track" for some time and The Chicago Tribune and The Wall Street Journal also openly admit to a star system. A poll at The Washington Post, however, showed a substantial number believe the newsroom is rife with favoritism.<sup>196</sup>

Susan Miller, the editorial director for Scripps Howard quoted earlier, held out hope in a later article that newspaper managers are changing to adapt to the new breed of newspaper people. One of the reasons for change, she said, is "... a growing realization that a relationship exists between good management and a quality product."197

There are now editors in the metro newspapers of North America who have tamed the frontier. And, in the process, they have made a discovery that should have been obvious all along: people who work as a team are more productive than people who spend a significant portion of each day stabbing each other in the back. People who work as a team put out better newspapers.198

Angus McEachran, editor of The Pittsburgh Press, has a blunt answer about how to change the atmosphere in the newsroom: "Creative tension is bullshit. There's enough creative tension. That's the nature of this beast. We don't need anybody to artificially inseminate anything."199

Miller concluded:

While some newspaper editors still cling to the old fashioned belief that newsrooms are like no other workplace and that newsroom managers have nothing in common with managers in other professions, more and more editors are beginning to recognize the patent nonsense of such ideas. Newsrooms may demand more creativity in less time than most professions, but the people who work in them respond to praise, fairness, teamwork and the goal of producing an excellent product -- just as other workers do. These quite ordinary ideas may have been slow getting accepted in newsrooms -- but they are beginning to take root.200

David Lawrence, former editor of The Detroit Free Press and now its publisher, says senior management sets the tone. The way to do away with back stabbing is by example at the top. "People mimic the boss. If you see it will get you something, you go

ahead and do it. If you see if won't work, then you try something else. If you have strong leaders you have a minimum of those sorts of problems."201 And Bagdikian adds his perspective:

The greatest power an editor has -- after hiring and firing -- is deciding what gets into the paper and how it gets played. ... That's how you guide the staff about what to produce. Reporters pay attention to what gets in. Reporters live and die over what gets in the paper.202

Sharon Polansky and Douglas Hughes studied newspaper managerial innovations in a mail survey of 311 publishers and staffers of U.S. papers in 1982.203 They stated their hypothesis, which was supported, as: "We expect organizations with innovative management to have the highest morale because innovation is positively correlated with organizational morale, and in part because innovative managers give employees more autonomy and independence in decision-making."204 The study concluded that the larger the circulation, the less likely are newspapers to be innovative:

Newspeople need to be sensitive to this trend. They need to counterbalance this direction by monitoring communication across channels to ensure meaningful participation at all levels of the corporate hierarchy. Such participation should increase morale and organizational health, as well as innovativeness.

While large newspaper organizations may be able to afford the best human resources, if employees are alienated in the workplace, innovation is likely squelched. Generous wages offered by large newspaper organizations are insufficient stimuli for the generation of innovation.

Freedom to express ideas and to have some decision-making authority are positively associated with innovativeness. Thus, placing improved human resources management high among organizational priorities is one way to create an environment in which innovation flourishes.205

They added somewhat ominously: "Failure to innovate may make newspapers the dinosaurs of the 21st century."206

#### 8. Democracy in the newsroom

In 1970 the managing editor of the Minneapolis Tribune surveyed 100 staff members and, after analyzing the 47 questionnaires returned by reporters, wrote:

You want a great deal more information about company direction through direct personal communication with management up to the highest level.

Some of you feel strongly that staff members should play a part in policy-making and decision-making. You do not wish to run the paper but you would like to be consulted on what is done and informed in advance on both major and minor decisions.

You feel that news policy and direction are not being handed down fully or clearly.207

And in the same year, Columbia Journalism Review editorialized that reporter power had begun in the U.S. and seemed likely to grow:

... purposeful dialogue between reporters and editors (and, much as they resist, publishers) seems destined to increase. To the extent that the dialogue eschews rhetoric and rigidity and emphasizes reason and open-mindedness, the result can only be enhanced professionalism and more sophisticated, responsible journalism."208

If this trend toward reporter power and democracy in the newsroom had continued as predicted, discussions about decision-making in the newsroom today would be considerably different. But while some staffers in Europe recorded real influence in the operation of their newspapers, there has been only token progress in Canada and the U.S. Nevertheless, attempts to study and

document the reporter power movement provide added insight into the way news policy is implemented in newsrooms and the ways journalists deal with it.

Time magazine reported in 1975 that European journalism was being shaken by the question: "Should a man who happens to have enough money to own a newspaper be allowed to dictate what it says?"<sup>209</sup> More and more reporters and editors are saying they have an intellectual and moral investment in their publications and should therefore have a voice in how they are run. To "an extent that is staggering from a U.S. point of view," the "democratization" movement has caught on in France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Austria, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Finland, England and "even" Spain, Time reported.

"Owning a newspaper or magazine is different from owning a spaghetti factory," Henry Nannen, editor and chief of Stern, the West German news magazine, said in 1969.<sup>210</sup> Stern granted reporters and editors a role in determining news policy and even ownership. The contract with the staff cited the editorial staff's "major contribution to the ideals, and therefore the material value" of the magazine.

Staffers at Le Monde and Figaro in France had won similar rights even earlier. Jean Schwoebel, diplomatic editor of Le Monde, noted that the newspaper became prestigious and profitable after it came under editorial staff control, even after rejecting millions of dollars in advertising to keep two-thirds of its space as a news hole.<sup>211</sup>

Jean Louis Servan-Schreiber traced the history of reporter power's beginnings to a revolt of journalists in France that began with the founding of a journalists' association at Le Monde in 1951.<sup>212</sup> It eventually took root at 30 papers, but it took 14 years until the next association was formed at Figaro. Le Monde is the only paper where the journalists' goals were completely fulfilled: they got a voice in running the paper, backed by the association's ownership of a substantial number of shares of the newspaper company. The staff eventually gained more than half the shares and the paper became effectively a self-managed co-operative. Except at le Monde, however, associations at other French newspapers varied little from ordinary trade unions.<sup>213</sup> There was very little parallel activity in the U.S. Servan-Schreiber predicted increasing tensions between journalists and publishers, but accurately foresaw in 1972 that no massive staff revolutions would take place at North American publications. But, he concluded:

This does not mean that management should reject staff criticism outright. If the initiative is not taken to meet reasonable demands, a form of cold war can spread throughout the press in a few years. The consequences could be lowered productivity and less and less appeal to investors. Even more important, it would become difficult to attract qualified personnel. ... if they [publishers] want to avoid the day when their own position is directly challenged, they should put forth realistic proposals for the participation of the staff in certain forms of decision-making.<sup>214</sup>

Lord Ardwick, formerly John Beavan, is a life peer in the House of Lords and, as political adviser of the Mirror Group of publications in Britain, has studied newsroom management and

written about his findings.<sup>215</sup> "In the past, the best journalists have always been absentee husbands and unsatisfactory fathers. It was a matter of pride that they should put the paper before all and everything," But, he wrote in 1975, long before the term Yuppie was used in connection in newsroom personnel studies as cited earlier, "journalism has been largely deromanticized."<sup>216</sup> He said journalists are more interested in family duties and other activities outside the office and that working conditions and pay are better. Not all journalists, he noted, want to participate in decision-making. "It is in some ways an expression of the freedom of the individual journalist that he does not have to agree with or bear responsibility for all the opinions expressed in his paper."<sup>217</sup> But he suggested some provision for staff involvement is workable. He said a council of senior journalists could be involved in major decisions, similar to le Figaro, with such power as a veto over a new editor. "Such a council could be a very powerful ally of an editor in his arguments with management."<sup>218</sup>

In Fleet Street we are so busy articulating other people's problems that we run away from articulating our own. The problem of participation is sometimes dismissed with: 'You can't run a newspaper by committee'. But of course newspapers today can only be run by committees. An editor today is a chairman who chooses his own top committee, his coterie of associate and assistant editors -- and though he reserves all his traditional powers, he does not in practice exercise them.<sup>219</sup>

Only minor advances in reporter power were reported in the U.S. despite the European trend toward newsroom staffers winning

more say in how their papers were run. By 1975, Columbia Journalism Review was forced to admit that its earlier predictions about growing newsroom democracy had been over-optimistic, but cited an interesting aberration in Burlington, Iowa where The Hawk Eye, with a 1975 circulation of 20,500, was operating well after giving reporters a veto over the appointment of a managing editor and a say in editorial decisions about what to cover or not cover.<sup>220</sup> Success of the high degree of participation was attributed to the fact that it was instigated and encouraged from above -- from editor and publisher John McCormally. For the benefit of his skeptical peers, McCormally wrote about his methods in The Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1972:

Should you do it? I have no recommendation to make. I can hear the critics snort that I must have a safe and docile staff, well insulated from the activist views of the bigger towns. But if you're scared of your staff, isn't it time you do a little thinking about it and figure out your own answer?<sup>221</sup>

In Canada, in 1970 Senator Keith Davey's Special Senate Committee on the Mass Media discovered only a few minor incidences, all in French Canada, where journalists successfully won protection for their professional integrity through formal union agreements.<sup>222</sup> La Presse, in Montreal, defined the relationship between editor and reporter as part of its 1969 labor contract, one of the few instances, Davey said, where management and staff have "codified the proposition that a journalist is something more than a hired hand." The only other similar contract agreement cited was at Le Soleil in Quebec City



where "professional freedom" has written guarantees.<sup>223</sup>

... There appears to be no other instances where journalists, as a group, assure a collective responsibility for the quality of their product as, for instance, the medical profession takes responsibility for the quality of medical care. We don't think the journalistic environment is going to change much unless and until journalists start assuming -- or demanding-- such responsibility."<sup>224</sup>

A massive study conducted for the American Society of Newspaper Editors published in 1982 showed that most reporters at nine U.S. papers believed they had considerable freedom deciding what to cover.<sup>225</sup> The survey included 489 questionnaires and 187 face-to-face interviews. In answer to the question: "My supervisor allows me extensive freedom to plan and organize my work," 71 per cent agreed, 15 per cent disagreed and 14 per cent were in between. To the question: "My supervisor insists I stick to my job and leave decisions and planning to him/her": 20 per cent agreed, 64 per cent disagreed and 16 per cent were in between.<sup>226</sup>

The report concluded:

"In practice, newsrooms were schizophrenic about what [management style] worked best. At newspapers where an authoritarian leadership style existed, the staff wanted more democracy. The opposite was true at places perceived to be operating with a democracy. ... A major finding of this study is the extent to which good management increased job satisfaction and perception of newspaper quality. Helping the process were consistent management philosophy that allows for staff participation in decision making ...<sup>227</sup>

A study of U.S. newspapers by Ted Joseph for a 1980 PhD dissertation, showed that aggregate decision making leans toward management consulting reporters, but management makes the final

decisions in most cases and editors are not interested in allowing additional participation by reporters. He discovered the reporters on small papers had more autonomy than those on larger papers.<sup>228</sup> Joseph covered some of the ground plowed by Breed:

It seems reasonable to assume that the older and perhaps more experienced reporter has been integrated more deeply into the organization's social system. He or she has lost the initial idealism, if it existed, that one's ideas are really valuable to the organization. So, as one matures, one realizes, perhaps, that change is less possible and thus participation is relatively less important on many issues. The young reporters, though, still have strength and confidence that they want to help shape the organization. They have yet to be socialized into the norms of the publishers and other managers.<sup>229</sup>

Joseph's study concluded that reporters want more control over: (1) how to cover stories; (2) the time needed to report and write stories; (3) story length; (4) story suggestions; (5) overtime needs; (6) which stories should be covered; and, (7) suggestions about pictures to accompany stories. These areas touch on news policy. Joseph said one possible explanation for the desire for more control over areas affecting news policy is that "reporters are creative and sensitive artists who often exist on ego-trips as do most artists in other fields. They are usually highly individualistic and object to peer or superior intrusions into their perceived rights and freedoms."<sup>230</sup> He concluded that reporters realize full control over their stories is not possible, so they opt for an equal vote concept with management. An equal vote on the seven items list above would provide the most reporter satisfaction.<sup>231</sup> "If an editor does not assume a more humanistic approach to decision-making, it can be

assumed that reporters will be treated as cogs in the news machine."<sup>232</sup>

It must be stressed that the autocratic approach is necessary often during the hectic hours in the newsroom. But, it is a system, which, if used always, debilitates most individuals, according to theorists noted in this work.

The biggest challenge is, it seems, not change to meet the needs of reporters but getting publishers, editors and reporters to examine in an open, honest way, perceptions toward reporter decision-making.<sup>233</sup>

Joseph also studied decision-making practices on Canadian papers by analyzing questionnaires returned from 39 municipal affairs reporters. Again, as in the U.S., he found a perceived decision-making environment that leans toward management making most decisions.<sup>234</sup> He said the explanation may be that management cannot perceive the need for a more democratic environment and concluded "the need is for management and reporters to create a dialogue which would allow both sides to discuss their needs."<sup>235</sup>

In 1978 Ellen Henderson studied perceptions of staff participation in newsroom decision-making at three South Carolina newspapers. Seventy questionnaire respondents, 18 managers and 52 non-managers, supplied the data.<sup>236</sup> She found management perceives staff to play more of a role in newsroom decision-making than does staff and that the more input a staff member feels he or she has in decision-making the higher is that person's degree of job satisfaction. There was no significant difference in the perception of roles in decision-making between males and females, and between older staff members and younger staff members. Those who have less experience perceive that they

have more input in decision-making than those with more experience. Males indicated more job satisfaction than females, but there was no significant difference in levels of job satisfaction between older employees and younger employees; between experienced staffers and less-experienced staffers; and between respondents with journalism degrees and those without.<sup>237</sup> She concluded "... newsroom communication and feedback seem to be the specific area in which management is not doing quite as an effective job with staff as it thinks"<sup>238</sup> and that giving staffers more say in decision-making would help keep more good journalists in the profession.<sup>239</sup>

The literature contains a few references to individual cases of attempts at reporter power in Canada. Fredericton Gleaner Managing Editor Jim Morrison resigned in May, 1977, following a series of disputes over news content. In August, 1977, 10 newsroom staffers were fired for opposing management on what was termed boosterism and puffery in the news columns.<sup>240</sup> The firings at The Gleaner, the smallest of five English-language papers in New Brunswick, all owned by K.C. Irving, were seen as a message for journalists at other Irving papers to toe the company line.<sup>241</sup> "In many cases like that of the Irving complex, the sheer awareness of a powerful media capitalist may intimidate editors and station managers in such a way as to predispose the treatment of news events or to otherwise effect a particular ideological shade,"<sup>242</sup> Debra Clarke, whose Thesis was cited earlier, commented.

Allan Fotheringham, an outspoken journalist both in print and in person, now columnist for The Toronto Sun and Maclean's magazine, was made senior editor at The Vancouver Sun in June, 1975. On Feb. 16, 1976, eight months later, his name disappeared from the paper's masthead between the first and second edition. One reason advanced by Sun staffers was that his anti-Liberal, anti-Trudeau views challenged The Sun's solid Liberal support. Two letters, each over a number of editorial staff signatures, were sent to publisher Stuart Keate expressing reporters' concerns,<sup>243</sup> but that was the extent of the formal protest.

## 2. "Professionalism," objectivity and bias

This study will not try to decide whether journalists are professionals. It is a thorny question, confused by semantics, and best left to a separate discussion. But professional-type considerations are a key part of the discussion of how journalists react when confronted with doing their jobs under a news policy. "The basis of professionalism, surely, is that there are certain things a professional will not do, and other things he must do,"<sup>244</sup> is how Keith Davey put it in his report.

All you have to do to be a journalist is to get a job in journalism. There are no education requirements, admission standards or disciplinary boards. Most journalists in Canada do not charge what the market will bear for their services but instead are paid a salary, often dictated by a union agreement attained through collective bargaining.

As far back as 1954, L'Union Canadiennes des Journalistes de Langue Francaise was created "to consider such matters as the establishment of journalism as a profession, a code of ethics, standards of performance and journalism education."<sup>245</sup> Other groups have sprung up over the years, such as associations of reporters and a group aimed at fostering investigative journalism, but there is no formal professional body governing journalists in Canada.

But whether they are truly "professionals" or not, there is nothing to stop them from acting in a professional manner, and it is in that sense "professionalism" is discussed here. We could just say "good reporter" or "good newsperson" instead of "someone who acts professionally," but, in any event, a good journalist does not publish unfair stories. "Unfair stories," of course, would include stories that are not true, but also "slanted" and "biased" stories. Whether stories can ever be unbiased is also a good question that will go unanswered here, but, no matter what the answer is, a good reporter and good editor will try to be fair in writing and editing news stories. This discussion of how professionalism in the newsroom affects maintenance of a news policy in the newsroom, therefore, is based on the assumption that "acting professionally" means a reporter or editor strives to be fair -- fair to the readers, fair to the subject of his/her stories and "true to the news."

What is at stake at the bottom of the professionalism debate is newspapers' credibility with their readers. The Royal

Commission on Newspapers (Kent Commission) reported in 1981 that 78 per cent of readers of Canadian newspapers think newspapers tend to sensationalize the news. And 72 per cent think, for instance, that newspapers play down facts that could offend advertisers.<sup>246</sup> In the U.S., a major 1985 study of readers about newspaper credibility done for the American Society of Newspaper Editors found serious perceptions of bias in the media. A majority of the public believes the news media give more coverage to stories that support their point of view and a majority question whether newspapers give fair news coverage to other candidates after one candidate has been endorsed on the editorial page.<sup>247</sup>

A number of studies into the relationship between bias, credibility, and professionalism of journalists are relevant to the discussion of news policy and its maintenance in the newsroom.

Gaye Tuchman found that rather than being a mirror to the world, news is instead a reconstruction of reality -- a deliberately constructed product that reflects the world views of the news producers themselves. News is "inevitably a product of newswriters drawing upon institutional processes and conforming to institutional patterns," she found after gathering information at a TV station newsroom, a newspaper, New York City reporters covering the women's movement and the New York city hall pressroom.<sup>248</sup>

Saying that newsworkers are professionals in organizations immediately raises a theoretical spectre in sociologists' minds. Sociologists generally hold that the interests of professionals and of organizations conflict: Employed professionals and managers or owners are said to battle one another for the right to control work -- to define how work will be done. When I began to study newswork, I expected to find conflicts between reporters and management predicted by sociological theory. I did find some. For instance, reporters and editors resent and, to some extent, resist running stories on the friends of the newspaper's or television executive's influential managers. But more generally, I found, news professionalism has developed in conjunction with modern news organizations, and professional practices serve organizational needs. Both, in turn, serve to legitimize the status quo, complementing one another's reinforcement of contemporary social arrangements, even as they occasionally compete for control of the work processes and the right to be identified with freedom of the press and freedom of speech.<sup>249</sup>

Tuchman noted that editors at news meetings rarely disagree over newsworthiness. No one disputes the opinion of the person above him on the hierarchy or even openly disputes opinions of people on the same level.<sup>250</sup> "Among reporters, professionalism is knowing how to get a story that meets organizational needs and standards."<sup>251</sup>

Tuchman laid the groundwork for her work on "making news" in an earlier study that suggested objectivity "may be seen as a strategic ritual protecting newsmen from the risks of their trade. ... Attacked for a controversial presentation of 'facts,' newspapermen invoke their objectivity almost the way a Mediterranean peasant might wear a clove of garlic around his neck to ward off evil spirits."<sup>252</sup> Faced with the problem of having to follow news policy and at the same time having to avoid charges of being biased, reporters use their skills (placement of



quotation marks, interviewing the appropriate people, marshaling pro and con arguments etc.) to make a story seem objective and, if challenged, use the defence that only they have "news judgment."<sup>253</sup> "It would appear that news judgment is the sacred knowledge, the secret ability of the newsman which differentiates him from other people."<sup>254</sup>

Herbert Gans, however, points out that objectivity is a ritual for more than just reporters. Unlike other professions, reporters have little time for research and usually little space or air time to present what research they have done and therefore need a defined set of principles to follow.<sup>255</sup>

Media critic Edith Efron, in a scathing critique of bias on U.S. network television news, called The News Twisters, illustrated many of the problems of coming to grips with a definition of objectivity by tracing some prominent journalists' attempts to do so. Walter Cronkite, in defending network news against criticisms of bias by U.S. vice-president Spiro Agnew, said on the CBS program "60 Minutes" on Nov. 25, 1969:

How [do] we define objective reporting? Well, we all have our prejudices, we all have our biases, we have a structural problem in writing a newsstory or presenting it on television as to time and length, position in the paper, position on the news broadcast. These things are all going to be affected by our own beliefs, of course, they are. But we are professional journalists. This is the difference. We are trying to reach an objective state, we are trying to be objective. We have been taught from the day we went to school, when we began to know we wanted to be journalists, integrity, truth, honesty, and a definite attempt to be objective. We try to present the news as objectively as possible, whether we like or don't like it. Now that is objectivity.<sup>256</sup>

Efron said Cronkite's desperate conceptual struggle with objectivity boils down to "Objectivity is when one tries to be objective," which she terms as "rather circular as definitions go."257 She quotes broadcast journalist David Brinkley as saying: "Objectivity is impossible to a normal human being;" and Bill Moyers: "Of all the myths of journalism, objectivity is the greatest."258 Efron notes that the U.S. Federal Communication Commission, which regulates broadcasting, roots "bias" in an editorial selective process and tries to maintain its fairness doctrine as a means to combat bias. She said Brinkley should understand the FCC's concern about the selective process, since he once said: "News is what I say, it is. It's something worth knowing by my standards." 259

Newsweek writer Mary G. Hager has also provided insight into the notion of objectivity from the perspective of someone who has wrestled with the issue in the real word of journalism.260 She said journalists and scientists are alike in many ways, including a commitment to objectivity. Both must deal with the "bandwagon" syndrome when choosing subject matter for their work, she said. Is the journalist's fascination with low-brow and sensational topics any different than scientists' tendency to do research in trendy, popular, well-funded areas? Both want their findings welcomed by their peers and published. "The same factors that influence the selection of subject matter for both scientists and journalists can also mold and shape the way material is handled, influencing questions that are asked or not asked, the choice of

materials, and the final presentation."261 Like reporters, scientists drawing on the same body of information regularly arrive at widely different conclusions (for example: the dangers of ionizing radiation; food additive effects on hyperactivity in children; are toxic waste dumps a major or minor health hazard?). Both live by the "publish or perish" dictum, except journalists face it every day.262

Problems arise ... when scientists and journalists delude themselves into believing that they are always objective and that their own opinions and beliefs play no role in pursuit of fact and truth. Only then the myth of objectivity threatens the viability of the information on which society relies for so many of its decisions.263

As far back as 1960 researchers Jack McLeod and Searle E. Howley Jr. were studying the importance of whether journalists considered themselves members of a profession or merely a craft.264 They concluded it is important whether journalists regard themselves as professionals because it is professional ethical norms that, as Breed pointed out, serve as a deterrent to carrying out publishers' policies.265 They hypothesized that the more professional a reporter thought himself to be, the more likely he would be to criticize his paper. After interviewing reporters on the Milwaukee Journal and Milwaukee Sentinel, they concluded their hypothesis was true. But they also discovered that the more professional a reporter thought himself to be, the farther away his attitude about what newspapers should be like was from the general public's. They concluded that growing professionalism might create special problems in communicating

with the public if it means that reporters who think of themselves as professionals have decreased similarity in outlook with the readers.266

It doesn't really matter whether journalists are truly professionals, Johnstone pointed out in his analysis of constraints on newswork. What is important when analyzing the influences on them is that they think they are professionals:

In their values regarding work journalists are oriented as professionals: they place a high value on service to the public, on professional autonomy and on independence from supervision, and by comparison tend to de-emphasize the importance of material awards and benefits. .... the fact that journalists think about work the way members of traditional professions do is important when considering how organizations control newswork.267

Considerable research on the influences on journalists is based on a massive survey by Johnstone and others published in 1971 that used 1,313 interviews to compile a broad sociological and demographic portrait of U.S. journalists.268 Their book, The News People, documents a significant level of job dissatisfaction and analyzes factors that affect newsroom morale.

... Job dissatisfaction for many young newsmen has to do more with professional considerations -- discrepancies between journalistic ideals and day-to-day practices. ... the most promising and well-trained young persons being attracted into the field are inspired by an image of professional practice which in large part is incompatible with organizational realities.269

The research by Johnstone et al. into newsroom influences on journalists is compatible in many ways with Breed's. They outlined several factors:270 (1) "It is evident that standards of professional practice within the work station are of considerable

importance to newsmen," i.e. feeling you and your paper are doing a good job is more important than money and other benefits.

(2) "Job satisfaction is also related to the editorial constraints under which newsmen work," i.e. the more autonomy allowed in decision-making the higher is its morale; over passage of time, older reporters become less tolerant about constraints over the selection of assignments. (3) "Concrete rewards and benefits are by no means irrelevant to morale, but seem to be more salient to younger newsmen than older." (4) Journalists oriented to neutral professional values tend to be more satisfied than those committed to participant journalism. (5) Job satisfaction is somewhat higher among women than men. (6) Journalists with the strongest emotional credentials tend to be most dissatisfied.

Johnstone et al. estimated that between a fifth and a quarter of experienced young editorial personnel "seriously question their commitment to remain in the field," and added that it is the most qualified who seem more inclined to leave.<sup>271</sup>


Richard C. Gray and G. Cleveland Wilhoit built on The News People by sampling professional values and opinions of 1,000 journalists in U.S. in 1982-83. Day-to-day newsroom learning topped the list of influences on journalism ethics, the survey showed, followed by family upbringing, senior editors, and co-workers.<sup>272</sup>

A study by Lee B. Becker, I.A. Sobowale and Robin E. Cobbey that also picked up on the research by Johnstone et al. found

that reporters' job satisfaction is a significant factor in commitment to the organization.<sup>273</sup> Unlike members of professions like doctors and lawyers who can operate independently, reporters are dependent on their news organizations to distribute their product. Therefore, organizational commitment is as important as professional commitment. And reporters can, in turn, feel loyal to their profession, but not to their organization.<sup>274</sup> "The news reporter is under considerable organizational control. ... He or she is not free to practice the profession independent of the forces of the newsroom."<sup>275</sup>

David W. Paddon duplicated part of the study of Johnstone et al. at the London (Ont.) Free Press in 1982 in an attempt to see whether "participant" journalists are likely to stay in the writing side of the profession while "neutrals" are conducive to career mobility along the administrative path.<sup>276</sup> The hypothesis tested was that "neutral" journalists primarily transmit information which a source outside the news organization has originated, while "participant" journalists favour news originated by journalists.<sup>277</sup> Little evidence to back the hypothesis was found in the 23 completely usable questionnaires (out of 100) returned.

Harold C. Shaver studied journalism school graduates in response to literature that suggested that there is a higher level of drop-outs from journalism after graduation than there is from other professions.<sup>278</sup> He found the over-all level of job satisfaction generally positive and that the possibility of




advancement is a strong factor in journalists' job satisfaction levels that sets them apart from other occupations. "Company policy administration weighted very strongly toward dissatisfaction while the possibility of growth in responsibility, achievement and recognition weighed toward satisfaction."279 Shaver suggested that journalism students be better prepared for the realities of the job and that management should do more to provide job enrichment and keep in mind the need for professional growth.280

A 1983 study by Hugh M. Culbertson concluded that acceptance of social control varies with individuals' "news orientation."281 A study of 258 varied news personnel from 17 U.S. papers supported the view that beliefs about contemporary journalism fall into three distinct clusters: traditional, interpretive and activists.

L.H. Chusmir noted in 1983 that despite several studies that show motivation greatly affects job performance, newspapers rarely test employees' "motivational needs" when hiring, deciding what job a person should do or when promoting from within.282 Being a good reporter does not make an individual a good editor, for instance, and motivational patterns of reporters and various kinds of editors differ. 283

The growth in professionalism has played a large role in changing the personnel and organizational effects on journalism, Bagdikian believes.284 He wrote in 1973:



There has been a rapid change within news institutions in the last decade. The perceived conventions that decade after decade automatically conditioned each novice journalist to comply with traditional values are being rejected and reformed. Standards of 'legitimacy' are being questioned. The primacy of direction from above is being challenged from below. A different kind of novice professional has entered the field.285

The social revolution of the 1960s changed the tradition of new reporters learning the ropes and docile acceptance of news policy from old hands, he said, and the end of journalism being regarded as a low-status occupation. With better students being attracted to newswork, better education and higher pay there was a growth of professionalism that resulted in challenges to power within news organizations.

... the clear growth of professionalism -- that is, an assumption of more or less standard ethics among a large body of working journalists -- provides some counterweight to corporate journalism. There is a growth in the idea of "democracy in the newsroom" -- participation by all practitioners in the news policy of their institution.286

Morris Janowitz also saw the growth of professionalism as leading to tensions within newsrooms and, like some other researchers, warned that the growth of professionalism might lead to tensions with readers.287 The conflict between the roles of gatekeeper and advocate may impede professionalism, he said.288

... the journalist in the main works for organizations with heterogeneous audiences. To build and retain mass audiences, journalists soon are stimulated to produce output that will be viewed by heterogeneous audiences as relatively objective. These audiences respond with sharp criticism to content which distorts that part of the environment with which they are familiar; and persistent distortion runs the risk of the loss of specific audience segments.289



In Canada, the literature shows considerable evidence of concern over professionalism and the effects on news presentation. In 1966, C. Edward Wilson studied why Canadian journalists had left their papers and found low pay, poor chance for advancement, lack of job satisfaction, bad working conditions, personality clashes and dislike of the work as main reasons.<sup>290</sup>

In a study published in 1974, Donald K. Knight found widespread discontent and frustration among Canadian journalists but could not find support for the popular claim that Canadian newswriters were unprofessional. Among the reasons for discontent was a general lack of respect for the abilities and competence of co-workers, a perceived lack of recognition and a lack of formal education and professional training.<sup>291</sup>

George Pollard updated Wright's study 10 years later and extended it to levels of professionalism among Canadian journalists in radio and television as well as newspapers.<sup>292</sup> Things had apparently improved in a decade. "Overall, Canadian newswriters were quite satisfied and enthusiastic about their work, confident about their future in newswriting and content with their current jobs."<sup>293</sup> He said Canadian newswriters, regardless of professional orientation, "agree on the importance of implementing a broad range of professional norms, values and practices."<sup>294</sup> The study found little support for the popular notion that print newswriters are the most professional. Television and radio newspeople rated higher in professional

items on Pollard's test, but he said the finding may be a result of disproportionate sample sizes.<sup>295</sup>

Former Toronto Star senior editor, ombudsman and member of the 1980 Kent Commission, Borden Spears, was aware that acting "professional" may mean that journalists will anger their audiences from time to time, but maintained it is not the journalists' job to be well-liked.<sup>296</sup> Spears always opposed boosterism, which, for some people, would have endeared them to journalists. He wrote that if journalists act professionally they risk incurring the wrath of the public because, by its nature, good reporting requires bearing bad tidings. He quoted an anecdote credited to C.E. Montague that told of a publisher in the English Midlands who instructed his editor in how to make a newspaper succeed: "The people have to be kept next to," he said. "Kept next to?" asked the editor. "What does that mean?" "Told that they're right," said the publisher.<sup>297</sup>

Former Saturday Night editor Robert Fulford, a prolific critic of Canadian journalism, devoted a great deal of thought to the issue of professionalism in the nation's newsrooms and its effect on the news. Picking up on a line in the Davey Committee's report that called Canadian newsrooms "the boneyards of broken dreams," Fulford used the committee's report as a starting point for suggestions about what journalists could do to improve their publications.<sup>298</sup> He said in the 1950s when journalism school graduates began hitting the newsrooms there was a tension building between the newcomers and the veterans. Newcomers were

afraid to call themselves "journalists" -- "A journalist is a newsman out of work," the vets told them -- and were reluctant to think of themselves as professionals. They didn't create a revolution and for the most part fitted into the system and "made themselves and their work pleasing to their superiors."<sup>299</sup> The changes in society that they reported on in the 1960s didn't affect them. "They continued, with hardly a public protest, to work within the standard corporate system: owners, bosses, underlings. People who decided what must be done and people who then, obediently, did it."<sup>300</sup> Davey put most of the blame on owners for failure of the media, but Fulford said, "I think we have to look to the journalists to save journalism."<sup>301</sup>

'A real professional,' in the best sense, is a journalist who has mastered his craft, who knows how to do his work and can do it quickly and dependably. There's another sense, though, that's not so admirable. 'A real professional' sometimes means a man who does exactly as he is told, without discussion or argument, whether or not he believes that what he is doing is the right thing. Thus 'a real pro' in this sense never complains if his stories are re-written and distorted, never complains if the instructions from the publisher directly contradict what he knows to be good journalism, never complains even if he is told to write pap to fill in around the ads in some supplement the business office has devised. Never complains, in fact, about the quality of the product he is producing.<sup>302</sup>

Fulford urged reporters to try to gain more control over their profession: "Doctors run medicine and lawyers run the law and sailors run ships. ... all maintain ultimate control over their own work. Journalism, on the other hand, is run by businessmen."<sup>303</sup> He urged formation of a "reporters' caucus" at each newspaper that would meet regularly, discuss the handling of

the news with its own members and present its views to management. "The cynicism of the people living in the boneyards is the product of soured idealism, an idealism that can be revived only by a self-administered therapy of discussion, analysis and serious protest."304

Fulford's suggestions about using increased professionalism to resist news policy were included in an essay the Kent Commission published with its research papers.305 He renewed his theme that journalists' ideals often clash with the reality of the business and that serious newswork produces a tension between journalists and what they conceive to be the Establishment.306

Journalists try to see themselves as disinterested seekers of truth who will not be swayed by the opinions of those who, for the moment, own the newspapers. A journalist's sense of profession demands devotion to the facts and to his readers; only after those first claims are satisfied can the owners of his paper demand loyalty.

Nevertheless, at the end of the day most newspapers emerge on the same political side -- roughly, the side of business and of pro-business political parties.307

Former journalist Peter Desbarats, head of the school of journalism at University of Western Ontario and a researcher for the Kent Commission, in a speech following release of the commission's report, touched on the tension in newsroom created by journalists who attempt to act professionally in the face of a news policy, even though journalism is not a profession in the technical sense.308

In our attempts to analyze and improve our quasi-profession, journalists are reminded constantly that there is a restless spirit of individual freedom, radicalism, and unorthodoxy at the heart of journalism.

.....  
Most journalists on the newsroom floor have objectives, or should have, which are not only unlike but often in conflict with the aims of publishers concerned chiefly with the profitability of their enterprises. Between these two factions is a large number of minor news executives, many of whom have graduated from the floor of the newsroom, who share the ideals of the working journalist but are in the process of acquiring the corporate objectives of editors and publishers. ... In reality, the public rarely discovers the views of working journalists.309

Desbarats said many journalists and journalists' organizations came out in favour of the Kent commission's recommendations, but the public didn't read about it in their newspapers. He was pessimistic that, despite professionalism in the newsroom, there would be any real changes made because journalists are simply afraid to confront the publishers:

The history of the [Kent] Royal Commission graphically illustrates the inability of journalists to exert influence within their own industry. Few individual journalists dared to appear publicly before the Royal Commission to talk about working conditions in the industry. They were terrified by the publishers' opposition to the very existence of the commission. This temerity was in sharp contrast to the old "Humphrey Bogart" image of the journalist as a fearless defender of the oppressed. Within the modern newspaper, the journalist had very little ability to defend himself or herself, and the implication of this is that he or she defends other causes only by the grace and favour of the publishers.310

#### 10. News as a value

Press critic A. J. Liebling expressed many of Breed's sentiments with the advantage of a great deal of experience in the world of journalism and an ability to use words like a

scalpel. His line, "Freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one," used first in a 1960 New Yorker article entitled "Do you belong on journalism?"<sup>311</sup> fits in well with Breed's theories about the dominance of the publisher's power over news policy. He also seemed to agree with another of Breed's theories -- that journalists' regard for news as a value unto itself is a key reason why they go along with policy. Newsmen are too busy writing and editing stories to think too much about what they are doing. Here is how Liebling put it:

I am a chronic, incurable, recidivist reporter. When I am working at it I have no time to think about the shortcomings of the American or world press; I must look sharp not to come up too short myself. Sinbad, clinging to a spar, had no time to think of systematic geography.<sup>312</sup>

Breed's contention that journalists find most of their rewards in their work by simply writing and publishing stories leads to other factors that help insure conformity to policy, such as the pleasant nature of the work in the eyes of the people who do it and, as a result, a type of isolation from the rest of the society who do not do it and even from the rest of journalists who do not do it their particular newsroom. This, in turn, leads to the feeling of invulnerability and isolation that belonging to a perceived in-group can bring.

Tony Westell tried to break away from the conformity of the parliamentary press gallery's coverage of national politics by operating The Toronto Star's Ottawa bureau on a new set of guidelines that would free reporters to break the mold and do their own stories, without regard to what other papers and wire

services were doing. But the experiment ended in a disaster during the 1974 election campaign that wrecked the bureau. Westell, now head of Carleton University's journalism school, later commented on the powerful forces that result in conformity in news coverage: "The media know very well they are being manipulated [by politicians], they complain about it, but, boy, that's what we need. We need a story a day, we need colour, we need drama, we need accusations. ... The great myth is that the media doesn't like being manipulated: we do, we live on it."313

Other participants and commentators have pointed out that it must be love of a good story that keeps many journalists in the business because it isn't love of money. Melvin Mencher, a journalism professor at Columbia University and author of a textbook widely used in journalism schools, is convinced, after years of seeking an answer as to why journalists stay in the business, that it is simply because they like the job.314 Graduates from journalism schools quickly learn that "despite the emergence of journalism as a profession with elitist characteristics, it remains a lowly business for reporters."315 Not many jobs pay as poorly as those in journalism. Studies show beginning reporters are among the worst paid of all college graduates and its safe to say most reporters don't enter journalism for money, he wrote in 1981.

The fact is that while their salaries make reporters the proletarians of the newsroom, they lack a working-class consciousness. Romantics, they like their work, consider it a pure vocation. Pay the priesthood? Hardly.

This sense of having a calling begins in journalism school. The news-editorial majors know their classmates in advertising and public relations will make more money, but they consider themselves among the chosen. Look at what the others will have to do for a living! Journalism is, of course, a service profession, akin to teaching, cousin to preaching. ... The prestige of journalists is not based on income or social standing, but on their commitment to serving the public. Reporters know from what they see on their beats how money corrupts. They write sagas of those done in by its attractions.

Journalists contribute to their inferior wages. They seem not to want it any other way.316

Beverly Kees has also commented on newswriters being driven by the love of a good story:

Most journalists are eccentrics: They seek professional excellence over personal wealth. This attitude is fortunate for the newspaper business, given the average levels of salaries.

Instead of money, editors trying to recruit and keep outstanding talent, eccentric themselves, offer opportunities for development, for promotion and for working with other good journalists.317

Another reason for conformity in newsrooms advanced by sociologists is the tendency for journalists to have few contacts with non-journalists. A large study sponsored by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, published in 1987, concluded from 1,600 questionnaires collected in two surveys of newspeople from across the U.S. that journalists tend to be isolated from the community even though they realize frequent social contacts are desirable.318 While 72 per cent agree that "it is vitally important that a journalist be integrated into the community," only 52 per cent believe "they have enough contacts with people outside the newsroom to have a good feel for what is going on in the community."319 This is particularly true for young



journalists and journalists in larger newsrooms; and supervisors report no more interaction among themselves with the community than reporters do.<sup>320</sup>

Another potentially detrimental association with insular communication is the journalist's image of his or her own paper. Those with fewer public contacts are more likely to believe the newspaper is presenting a complete, trustworthy, lively, unsensational and influential image to the public. Holding favorable attitudes toward one's source of employment is a positive, but to the extent that insular journalists hold an inflated image, they may be less able to evaluate their product critically and institute necessary changes.

... the data from these two surveys provide strong evidence that a substantial subset of journalists working in many newsrooms across the country are isolated from their public. This is particularly true of editors and young staffers. The extent to which this lack of communication produces feelings of elitism and condescension toward the public may threaten the newspaper's ability to identify newsworthy developments in the community, to present accurate accounts of people and events, and to assess critically its failures and successes.<sup>321</sup>

The study concluded that promotions are often given to people who do best at office politics:

People who fall into the category of low public interaction and high colleague interaction ... are most likely to be fast-trackers. It is among these two groups that insularity may pose a problem for the profession.

The data imply that newsrooms provide the most rewards for those journalists who are well-connected in the newsroom ... and provide few rewards for those who are well connected in the community.

... Journalists with advancement aspirations may therefore come to believe that cultivating contacts with other journalists is most beneficial to their career and spend social time with co-workers at the expense of contacts with non-journalists.

Potentially more problematic than this organizational dynamic is the fact that insulated journalists appear to have a negative, almost antagonistic view of the reader.<sup>322</sup>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Warren Breed, "The Newspaperman, News and Society" (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1952). Hereafter referred to as: Breed "Thesis".

2. Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom," Social Forces, 33 (May, 1955). Reprinted in Mass Communications, ed. Wilbur Schramm (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1960) pp. 178-194. Hereafter referred to as: Breed, "Social control". Page references will be to the Mass Communications version.

3. Breed, "Newspaper 'Opinion Leaders' and the Process of Standardization," Journalism Quarterly 22:3 (Summer, 1955): 277-284. Hereafter referred to as: Breed, "Opinion Leaders".

4. Daniel Garvey, Jr., "Social Control in the Television Newsroom" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1971).

5. Breed, "Thesis", xv.

6. Ibid., . viii.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. xi.

9. Ibid., 66.

10. Ibid., p. 67.

11. Ibid., p. 72.

12. Ibid., p. 97.

13. Ibid., 102.

14. Ibid., p. 106.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., p. 110.

17. Ibid., p. 113.

18. Ibid., p. 114.

19. Ibid., p. 122.

20. Ibid., p. 126.

21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p. 128.
23. Ibid., p. 135.
24. Ibid., pp. 135-160.
25. Ibid., p. 156.
26. Ibid., p. 157.
27. Ibid., p. 149.
28. Ibid., p. 158.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid. p. 165.
31. Ibid. p. 166.
32. Ibid., p. 167.
33. Ibid. p. 168.
34. Ibid., pp. 173-174.
35. Ibid., p. 174.
36. Ibid., pp. 189-190.
37. Ibid. p. 191.
38. Ibid., p. 315.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., pp. 316-317.
41. Ibid., p. xiv.
42. Breed, Social control p. 178-179.
43. Ibid., pp. 184-188.
44. Ibid., p. 185.
45. Ibid., p. 185.
46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., p. 197.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., p. 188.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., pp. 191-192.
52. Ibid., p. 193.
53. Ibid., p. 194.
54. Ibid.
55. Breed, "Opinion Leaders."
56. Garvey.
57. Garvey, p. 1.
58. Garvey, p. 4-5.
59. Garvey, p. 14.
60. Ibid.
61. Garvey, p. 146.
62. Ibid., 169.
63. Ibid., pp. 102-103.
64. Ibid., p. 109.
65. Ibid., p. 162.
66. Ibid., p. 165.
67. Ibid., p. 388.
68. Ibid., p. 267.
69. Ibid., p. 393.
70. Ibid., p. 394.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., p. 395.

73. Wilbur Schramm and William E. Porter, Men, Women, Messages and Media, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), p. 139.

74. Schramm, ed., Processes and Effects of Mass Communications (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), p. 382.

75. Ibid.

76. Melvin De Fleur, "Mass Media as a Social System," in Processes and Effect of Mass Communications, pp. 68-69.

77. Breed, "Thesis," p. xiv.

78. Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, eds., Towards a General Theory of Actions (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 24.

79. Leo Bogart, "Management of Mass Media: An Agenda for Research," Public Opinion Quarterly 37 (Winter, 1973-74):4, 580-589.

80. Ibid., 582.

81. Ibid., 585.

82. Carlton W. McNaught, Canada Gets the News (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1940), p. 20.

83. John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 484.

84. Ibid., p. 485.

85. Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite (Toronto: McClelland and Stuart, 1975).

86. Ibid., p. 294.

87. Debra Clarke, "The Significance of Mass Media Ownership for the Process of Ideological Reproduction: The Canadian Case," MA dissertation, McMaster University, 1978, p. 229.

88. Ibid.

89. Philip Meyer, Editors, Publishers and Newspaper Ethics: A Report to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 1983.

90. Ibid., pp. 45-52.

91. Ibid., p. 54.

92. Ben H. Bagdikian, "Professional Personnel and Organizational Structure in Mass Media," in Mass Communication Research: Major Issues and Future Directions, eds. W. Phillip Davison and Frederick T.C. Yu (New York: Praeger, 1974), p. 125.

93. Ibid., p. 123.

94. Ibid., p. 126.

95. Ardyth B. Sohn and Leonard H. Chusmir, "The Motivational Perspectives of Newspaper Managers," Journalism Quarterly 62:2 (Summer, 1985): 296-303.

96. Lorraine Gane, "How Publishers Influence News Coverage," Carleton Journalism Review 2:1 (Spring, 1979): 1.

97. David R. Bowers, "A Report on Activity by Publishers in Directing Newsroom Decisions," Journalism Quarterly 4:1 (Spring, 1967): 43-52.

98. Ibid., 42.

99. William A. Tillinghost, "Slanting the News: Source Perception After Changes in Newspaper Management," Journalism Quarterly 61:2 (Summer, 1984): pp. 310-316, 418.

100. Ibid., 241.

101. Ibid., p., 314.

102. Ibid., 316.

103. Gay Talese, The Kingdom and the Power (New York: World Publishing, 1969).

104. David Halberstam, The Powers That Be (New York: Knopf, 1979).

105. Talese, p. 5.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid., p. 121.

108. William Thomas Gormley Jr., "Newspaper Agendas and Political Elites," Journalism Quarterly 52:2 (Summer, 1975): 308.

109. Ibid.

110. Bogart, "Changing News Interests and the Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly 32:4 (Winter 1968-69): 565.

111. Walter Lipmann, Public Opinion (Toronto: Free Press, 1965), p. 203.

112. Ibid., pp. 227-228.

113. Leo Rosten, The Washington Correspondents (New York: Harcourt, 1937).

114. William L. Rivers, "The Correspondents After 25 Years," Columbia Journalism Review 1:1 (Spring, 1962): 4-10.

115. Ibid., 5.

116. Ibid., 6.

117. Herbert Gans, Deciding What's News (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979).

118. Ibid. pp. 101-102.

119. Francis V. Prugger, "Social Composition and Training of the Milwaukee Journal News Staff," Journalism Quarterly 18:3 (September, 1941): 244.

120. Ibid., 241.

121. B.H. Liebes, "Decision-Making by Telegraph Editors -- AP or UPI?" Journalism Quarterly 43:3 (Autumn, 1966): 434-442.

122. Ibid., 436.

123. Dianne Lynne Cherry, "Newspaper People's Significant Others: Ethics as a Function of Reference Groups," Newspaper Research Journal 6:3 (Spring, 1985): 33-46.

124. Ibid. 45.

125. Fred. F. Enders, "Influences on the Ethical Socialization of U.S. Newspaper Journalists," Newspaper Research Journal 6:3 (Spring, 1985): 45-56.

126. Ibid. 48.

127. Ibid. 50.

128. Ibid.

129. J.S. Kerrick, T.E. Anderson and J.B. Swales, "Balance and Writers' Attitudes in News Stories and Editorials," Journalism Quarterly 41:2 (Spring, 1964): 207-215.

130. Thomas J. Madden, "Editor Authoritarianism and Its Effects on News Display," Journalism Quarterly 48:4 (Winter, 1971): 660-666.

131. Ibid., 661.

132. Peter Dempson, Assignment Ottawa: Seventeen Years in the Press Gallery (Toronto: General Publishing, 1968).

133. "Rating the Ottawa Press Gallery," Saturday Night (January, 1968): 20-22.

134. Ibid., 61-62.

135. Ibid., 63.

136. Walter Stewart, ed., Canadian Newspapers: The Inside Story (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishing, 1980), p. 11.

137. Richard V. Ericson, Patricia M. Baranek, and Janet B.L. Chan, Visualizing Deviance (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

138. Ibid., p. 9.

139. Ibid., p. 131.

140. Ibid., p. 351.

141. Stuart H. Surlin and Marlene Cuthbert, "Symbiotic news coverage of the Grenada crisis in Canada and the Caribbean," Canadian Journal of Communication 12:3-4 (1966): 53.

142. Walter C. Soderlund and Stuart H. Surlin, "Media portrayals of Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of Grenada: A balance theory Hypothesis," Paper presented at the Intercultural Communication Conference on Latin America and the Caribbean, Miami, Florida, February, 1986, p. 5.

143. Surlin and Cuthbert, 56.

144. Ibid.

145. Soderlund and Surlin.

146. Michael Moore, "How To Keep Them Happy in Flint," Columbia Journalism Review 24:3 (September-October, 1985): 40-43.

147. Bill Cutler and Michael Shields, "Is Jacksonville Jinxed?", Columbia Journalism Review, 22:6 (March-April 1984): 32.



148. Ibid. 33.

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid. 35.

151. Hugh Winsor, "A power elite gets its way in Kitchener," The Globe and Mail, Feb. 7, 1972, p. 1, p. 8.; and "How Kitchener's renewal scheme was kept off the Record," The Globe and Mail, Feb. 8, 1972, p. 1, p. 8.

152. Ibid., Feb. 8, p. 8.

153. Keith Davey, "For good journalists, boosterism is fatal," Maclean's (June 19, 1972): 24.

154. Ibid.

155. David Manning White, "The 'Gate Keeper': A Case Study in the Selection of News," Journalism Quarterly 27:4 (Fall, 1950): 383-390.

156. Ibid., 385-386.

157. Ibid., 385.

158. Ibid..

159. Walter Geiber, "Across the Desk: A Study of 16 Telegraph Editors," Journalism Quarterly 33:4 (Fall, 1956): 431.

160. Paul B. Snider, " 'Mr. Gates' Revisited: A 1966 version of the 1949 Case Study," Journalism Quarterly 44:3 (Autumn, 1967): 419-426.

161. Ibid., 422.

162. Lewis Donohew, "Newspaper Gatekeepers and Forces on the News Channel," Public Opinion Quarterly 3:1 (Spring, 1967): 68.

163. Ibid., 66.

164. Ibid., 67.

165. Ruth C. Flegel and Steven H. Chaffee, "Influences of editors, readers and personal opinions on reporters," Journalism Quarterly 48:1 (Winter 1971): 645.

166. Ibid., 650-651.

167. John W.C. Johnstone, "Organizational Constraints on Newswork," Journalism Quarterly 53:1 (Spring, 1976): 5.

168. Ibid., 7.

169. Ibid., 8.

170. Ibid., 9-12.

171. Ibid., p. 5.

172. Frederick Fico, "Perceived Influences and Editorial Concerns: Influence Reporters in Two Statehouses," Journalism Quarterly 62:5 (Winter, 1985): 790.

173. Ibid.

174. Steven Shields and Sharon Dunwoody, "The Social World of the Statehouse Pressroom," Newspaper Research Journal 8:1 (Fall, 1986) 43-51.

175. Ibid., 50.

176. David L. Gray, "Decision-Making by a Reporter Under Deadline Pressure," Journalism Quarterly 43:3 (Autumn, 1966): 419-428.

177. Ibid., 427.

178. D. Charles Whitney, "'Information Overload' in the Newsroom: Two Case Studies," PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1978.

179. Ibid., p. 253.

180. Bagdikian, "The Politics of American Newspapers," Columbia Journalism Review 10:6 (March-April, 1972): 8-13.

181. Ibid., 9.

182. Ibid., 13.

183. Ibid., 26.

184. Ibid., 25.

185. Chris Argyris, Beyond The Front Page (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974).

186. Ibid., pp. 96-97.

187. Ibid., pp. 43-64.

188. Ibid., p. 247.
189. Susan Miller, "Young and the Restless: Managing Yuppies in the Newsroom," Washington Journalism Review 7:10 (October, 1985): 36.
190. Ibid., 37.
191. Ibid.
192. Ibid., 38.
193. Robert Kuttner, "Royal Succession [at The New York Times and Washington Post]," Washington Journalism Review 7:1 (January, 1985): 23-34; and Bernice Buresh, "Royal Succession [at The Boston Globe]," Washington Journalism Review 7:1 (January, 1985): 35-39.
194. Kuttner, 24.
195. Barbara Matusow, "Newspaper Star System: A Fast Track for the Favored Few," Washington Journalism Review 8:5 (May, 1986): 19-26.
196. Ibid.
197. Susan Miller, "Managing in the Newsroom: Trading Tough Talk for TLC," Washington Journalism Review 8:3 (March, 1986): 30.
198. Ibid.
199. Ibid., 31.
200. Ibid.
201. Ibid.
202. Ibid.
203. Sharon H. Polansky and Douglas W.W. Hughes, "Managerial Innovation in Newspaper Organizations," Newspaper Research Journal 8:4 (Fall, 1986): 1-12.
204. Ibid., 4.
205. Ibid., 10-11.
206. Ibid., 11.
207. Edwin Diamond, "Reporter Power Takes Root," in Our Troubled Press, ed. Alfred Balk (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971), pp. 338-389.

208. Columbia Journalism Review 8:3 (Summer, 1970): 12-18.
209. "Who owns journalism?" Time (Jan. 19, 1975): 60-61.
210. "Revolt of the Editors," Newsweek (June. 2, 1969): 84.
211. Jean Schwoebel, "The Miracle 'Le Monde' Wrought," Columbia Journalism Review 8 (Summer, 1970): 8-11.
212. Jean Louis Servan-Schreiber, The Power to Inform (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), p. 129.
213. Ibid., p. 131.
214. Ibid., p. 137.
215. Lord J.C.B. Ardwick (John Beavan), "Editorial Policy Making and the Royal Commission on the Press," Government and Opposition 10:1 (Winter, 1975).
216. Ibid., 12.
217. Ibid., 21.
218. Ibid., 22.
219. Ibid.
220. George Kennedy, "Reporter Power Lives -- In Iowa," Columbia Journalism Review 14 (November-December, 1976): 30, 35.
221. Ibid., 35.
222. Canada, Senate of Canada, Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media ("The Davey Committee"), Vol. I: "The Uncertain Mirror," (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970), p. 122. Hereafter referred to as "Davey."
223. Ibid.
224. Ibid., p. 123.
225. Judee K. Burgoon, Michael Burgoon and Charles K. Akin, "What is News? Who Decides? And How?: Report on the World of the Working Journalist," American Society of Newspaper Editors, May, 1982.
226. Ibid.
227. Ibid., p. 7

228. Ted Joseph, "Daily Newspaper Reporters and Editors Preferences for Decision-Making and Existing Decision-Making Practices" (PhD dissertation, University of Ohio, 1980).

229. Ibid., p. 23.

230. Ibid., pp. 88-89.

231. Ibid., p. 89.

232. Ibid., 92.

233. Ibid., p. 94.

234. Ted Joseph, "Existing Decision-Making Practices on Daily Newspapers in Canada," Canadian Journal of Communication 8:2 (1982): 65-68.

235. Ibid., 68.

236. Ellen Henderson, "A study of staff participation in newsroom decision-making," MA thesis, University of South Carolina, 1978.

237. Ibid., pp. 48-55.

238. Ibid., p. 62.

239. Ibid., pp. 63-65.

240. Allan Chambers, "New Gleaner Finds Chaff Good Eating," Content 81 (January, 1978): 3.

241. Ibid.

242. Clarke, p. 226.

243. Karenn Krangle and Lin Moody, "Fotheringham Affair Shows Unhealthy Situation at Canada's Third-Largest Daily," Content 61 (April, 1976): 8.

244. Davey, Vol. 1, p. 123.

245. W.H. Kesterton, A History of Canadian Journalism (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), pp. 167-168.

246. Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on News Papers, "The Kent Commission" (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Information, 1981) pp. 36-37. Hereafter called "Kent."

247. "Newspaper Credibility: Building Reader Trust," MORI Research Inc., national study commissioned by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1985, p. 15.

248. Gaye Tuchman, Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality (New York: Free Press, 1978), p. 4.

249. Ibid., p. 5.

250. Ibid., p. 33.

251. Ibid., p. 66.

252. Tuchman, "Objectivity as a Strategic Ritual: An examination of Newspapermen's Nation of Objectivity," American Journal of Sociology 77:4 (March, 1972): 660.

253. Ibid., 676.

254. Ibid., 672.

255. Herbert Gans, "The Famine in American Mass Communications Research: Comments on Hirsch, Tuchman and Gecas," American Journal of Sociology 77 (January, 1972): 701-702.

256. Edith Efron, The News Twisters, (Los Angeles: Manor Books, 1972), p. 2.

257. Ibid.

258. Ibid., p. 3.

259. Ibid.

260. Mary G. Hager, "The Myth of Objectivity," American Psychologist 37 (May, 1982): 576-579.

261. Ibid., 576.

262. Ibid.

263. Ibid., p. 579.

264. Jack McLeod and Searle E. Howley Jr., "Professionalism Among Newsmen," Journalism Quarterly 41:4 (Autumn, 1964): 529-538; 577.

265. Ibid., 529.

266. Ibid., 538.

267. Johnstone, p. 5.

268. John W.C. Johnstone, Edward J. Slawski and William W. Bowman, The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and Their Work (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976).

269. Ibid., p. 154.

270. Ibid., pp. 149-151..

271. Ibid., p. 154.

272. Richard C. Gray and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, "Portrait of the U.S. Journalist," Editor and Publisher 116:21 (May 21, 1983): 11.

273. Lee B. Becker, I.A. Sobowale and Robin E. Cobbe, "Reporters and Their Professional and Organizational Commitment," Journalism Quarterly 56:4 (Winter, 1979): 753-763, 770.

274. Ibid., 753.

275. Ibid., 763.

276. David W. Paddon, "A survey of daily newspaper journalists to determine 'participant' and 'neutral' attitudes about news gathering" (M.A. research Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1982).

277. Ibid., p. 12.

278. Harold C. Shaver, "Job Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction Among Journalism School Graduates," Journalism Quarterly 55:2 (Spring, 1978): 55.

279. Ibid., 57.

280. Ibid., 61.

281. Hugh M. Culbertson, "Three Perspectives on American Journalists," Journalism Monographs 83, (June, 1983): 1-33.

282. L.H. Chusmir, "Profile of Motivational Needs of Individuals in the Newspaper Industry," Newspaper Research Journal (Fall, 1983): 38.

283. Ibid., 38.

284. Ben Bagdikian, "Shaping Media Content: Professional Personnel Organizational Structure," Public Opinion Quarterly 37:4 (Winter, 1973): 569-579.

285. Ibid., 569.

286. Ibid., 575.

287. Morris Janowitz, "Professional Models in Journalism: The Gatekeeper Advocate," Journalism Quarterly 52:4 (Winter, 1975): 618-626; 662.

288. Ibid., 618.

289. Ibid., p. 626.

290. C. Edward Wilson, "Why Canadian Newsmen Leave Their Papers," Journalism Quarterly 43:4 (Winter, 1966): 769-772.

291. Donald K. Wright, "An Analysis of the Level of Professionalism Among Canadian Journalists," Gazette 20:2 (1974): 133-144.

292. George Pollard, "Professionalism Among Canadian Newswriters: A Cross Media Analysis," Gazette 36 (1985): 31-38.

293. Ibid., 29.

294. Ibid., 31.

295. Ibid., 35.

296. Borden Spears, "Publisher: 'The people have to be kept next to' Editor: 'Kept next to?' What does that mean?," Content 57 (November, 1975): 20.

297. Ibid.

298. Robert Fulford, "Boneyard of Broken Dreams," Saturday Night (January, 1971): 7-8.

299. Ibid., 7.

300. Ibid.

301. Ibid., 8.

302. Ibid.

303. Ibid.



304. Ibid.

305. Fulford, "A Sort of Reckless Courage," in The Journalists, research publication of the Royal Commission on Newspapers, Vol. 2 (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1981): 3-17.

306. Ibid., p. 10.

307. Ibid., p. 7.

308. Peter Desbarats, "How the Media Operate." Speech to the alumni and corporate sponsors of the Faculty of Management Studies, University of Toronto, Feb. 23, 1984, reprinted in Business Quarterly 50 (Summer, 1985): 93-98.

309. Ibid., p. 96.

310. Ibid., p. 96.

311. A.J. Liebling, The Press (New York: 1961), p. 30.

312. Ibid., p. 71.

313. Clive Cocking, Following the Leaders (Toronto: Doubleday, 1980), p. 27.

314. Melvin Mencher, "Romantics in the Newsroom," Columbia Journalism Review 20:3 (September/October, 1981): 41-45.

315. Ibid., 41.

316. Ibid., 45.

317. Beverly Kees, "Newspaper People Will Work For Things Money Cannot Buy," The Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors 689 (September/October, 1986): 4.

318. Judee K. Burgoon, Michael Burgoon, David B. Buller and Charles K. Atkin, "Communication Practices of Journalists: Interaction With Public, Other Journalists," Journalism Quarterly 64:1 (Summer, 1967): 125-135; 275.

319. Ibid., 128.

320. Ibid., 130.

321. Ibid., 275.

322. Ibid., 132.

#### CHAPTER IV

##### THE TORONTO STAR NEWS POLICY: A CONTEXT FOR THIS STUDY

Journalists at The Toronto Star work at a newspaper with a long and eventful history. They also work in a very healthy business environment, although there are some worrisome clouds on the horizon.

To understand influences on decision making in The Toronto Star newsroom today in their proper perspective, it is essential to trace the history of the reporters, editors and publishers who went before them and examine literature that provides insight into the paper's traditional news policy and how it was implemented.

The newspaper has had only three dominant figures who controlled the newsroom: Joseph S. Atkinson, the paper's founder; his son-in-law, Harry C. Hindmarsh; and Beland H. Honderich.<sup>1</sup> Atkinson's successors have carried on his policy. In fact, due to the provisions of his will, there is a moral requirement on the owners to fulfil the mandate laid down by Atkinson: to use the paper as an instrument for social reform. This formal policy, backed by a tradition of using the paper's news pages as well as its editorial pages to put the policy in effect, makes The Toronto Star unique in many ways. When studying influences on newsroom decision-making today, it is essential to review the history of the paper's news policy as revealed in its own pages and through the eyes of critics and commentators.

From humble beginnings, in 1892, the paper grew rapidly with the Toronto economy, aided by a news policy that for the most part seemed in tune with the thinking of many of the thousands of people who flocked to the city, eventually making it the largest metropolitan area in the country. It went through a long stage as one of the liveliest and most sensational newspapers on the continent and its writers' included some of the most successful Canada has produced: Ernest Hemingway, Morley Callaghan, Stephen Leacock, H. G. Wells, Bruce Hutchison, Gratton O'Leary, Greg Clark, Nellie McClung, Ring Lardner, Gordon Sinclair, Pierre Berton and countless other first-rate journalists, past and present. Its alumni have, and still do, populate the nation's newsrooms and four currently head top Canadian journalism schools: Anthony Westell at Carleton, Peter Desbarats at University of Western Ontario, Michael Cobden at King's College in Halifax and John Miller at Ryerson.

The paper has been credited with fostering many of the social programs implemented by the federal and Ontario governments. It has always been and remains a consistent and powerful voice for Canadian nationalism and liberalism. It has been both damned and praised as a fairly consistent supporter of the Liberal Party.

The Toronto Star is, by far, the largest newspaper in Canada in terms of circulation and advertising lineage. Its most recent audited average daily circulation, for the period ending March 31, 1988, was 519,320 Monday to Friday; 806,327 Saturday

and 532,697 Sunday.<sup>2</sup> Its weekday circulation is fourteenth-highest in North America (not counting USA Today and the Wall Street Journal, which publish separate editions in different parts of the United States), seventh highest on Saturday and about twentieth on Sundays.<sup>3</sup> The next-closest Canadian paper is Le Journal de Montréal with a weekday circulation of 327,500.

The Star operates journalistically and as a business enterprise in one of the most competitive media markets in North America. In an era where one-newspaper towns have become the norm, The Star competes against two other well-established daily newspapers -- the venerable Globe and Mail, and the upstart Sun -- plus The Financial Post, which changed from a weekly to a daily in February, 1988.

Figures vary as papers increase selling prices and change focus, but The Star virtually outsells its newspaper competitors combined in both circulation and advertising.<sup>4</sup> Although The Star enjoys a wide over-all edge in circulation compared to The Sun, much of it is due to outlying regional sales and recent figures show The Sun steadily catching up to The Star in what is known statistically as the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) -- Metro Toronto and its nearby surrounding regions -- which is crucial to advertisers when deciding the best medium to reach the large and affluent Metro Toronto market.

The Globe and Mail's Toronto edition only sells 189,000 in the CMA and has remained fairly steady in recent years as The Globe concentrated on selling its national edition.

The Sun, a brash morning tabloid that started in 1971 after The Star's afternoon competitor, The Telegram, folded with a nudge from The Star, is closer to the style of the New York Post and British tabloids than the paper it replaced. It is home-delivered only on Sundays, relying on street sales -- mostly to commuters using Toronto's popular subway system and other public transit -- the rest of the week. Virtually all of its circulation is therefore concentrated in the CMA and its popularity is putting pressure on The Star in both a business and journalistic sense. This pressure is being felt in the newsroom now and will likely grow as an influence on news decision-making in the future.

The Star's 500 editorial employees are only a part of the 4,500 full-time and 2,300 part-time employees employed by Torstar Corporation. Torstar is a broadly based information and entertainment communications holding company that also owns Metroland Printing, Publishing & Distributing, which publishes community newspapers and advertising material in communities near Metro Toronto; Harlequin Enterprises, the world's largest publisher of romance fiction; and Miles Kimball a specialty-product mail order business in the United States. It also has a 22.4 per cent interest in Southam Inc., the largest Canadian newspaper chain in terms of circulation. Torstar operates worldwide with about half its revenues generated outside Canada. Revenues will approach \$1 billion in 1988.

The paper's founder, Joseph Atkinson, the youngest of eight children, was born in 1865 in Newcastle, Ont., about 50 miles east of Toronto.<sup>5</sup> His mother, a staunch Methodist, was widowed when Atkinson was six months old. He went to work at the small town's woolen mill when his mother died shortly before his fourteenth birthday. He and 150 others found themselves out of work when the mill burned down and he got a job collecting accounts by riding around town on a bicycle for the weekly Port Hope Times when he was 18 years old. He began writing for the paper and was soon virtually running the whole operation. At age 22 he moved to the Toronto World, then to The Globe for eight years and then to the Montreal Herald.

He was on the Herald staff when a group of prominent Liberals bought The Toronto Evening Star in 1899 to give Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party a voice among the evening papers in Toronto.

The paper had been founded in 1892 by a group of printers with the support of organized labor because of a dispute between the printers and the owners of another paper, The News. The Evening Star was dedicated to the welfare of the working man. The paper's slogan, flaunted in the upper right corner of the front page, was "A paper for the people" and tried to woo the working class readership of The News.

The printers soon ran out of money and the unions lost interest. After suspending publication for three weeks, it was bought in 1893 by William Gage to fight the Liberal provincial

government of Oliver Mowat. Gage had an alliance with Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Governor General of Canada, to advance the cause of social welfare and expose sweatshop working conditions in the tailoring industry. It started The Star Fund for Bread to distribute bread to the unemployed. The financial editor was president of the Toronto Trades and Labour Council.

In 1895 The Evening Star was sold to Edmund E. Sheppard, founder, publisher and editor of Saturday Night magazine. There was a short setback to labor causes when the paper was bought in 1899 by Frederic B. Nicholls, president of Canadian General Electric and several other companies. The paper attacked social programs (it called for the immediate halt to building schools, for instance) and was mostly interested in furthering Nicholls' business interests. The Star's official historian, Ross Harkness, called it the paper's darkest period. It was "the only time in its history when it showed no awareness of a newspaper's public responsibility," he wrote.<sup>6</sup>

By 1899 circulation was at an all-time low of 7,000, down from a high of 11,553, and in last place among the six Toronto papers. The Telegram had 25,000 at the time and the Globe was even higher. The Star was "unrespected, uninfluential and almost unread"<sup>7</sup> when Atkinson was appointed managing editor Dec. 13, 1899.

Six months after Joseph Atkinson was born his father was killed by a train. The effects of that accident have been felt by generations of Toronto Star employees, the leaders of governments

and other newsmakers, and generations of readers who depend on the 4 million copies of The Star sold each week to keep them informed.

Atkinson's mother was left a widow with eight children, and as a youngster Atkinson learned first hand the need for private charity, the importance of counting every cent, the religious values of staunch Methodism and the class struggle as seen through the eyes of the workers his mother took in as boarders to make ends meet. He learned the importance of measures to protect workers from the effects of unemployment, sickness and other measures beyond their control. Thrown out of work when the mill where he work burned down, the young Joseph Atkinson took these lessons to heart and applied them to the guiding philosophy of the content of the newspaper he took over and nurtured into Canada's largest.

Harkness said Atkinson's views influenced his writing as soon as he was elevated from collecting accounts on a bicycle at the Port Hope Times and began writing editorials at age 18: "If he held any views on politics at all they were probably those of the foundry workers he had known in his youth -- that politicians were all a bunch of rascals who did nothing for the working man."8 When Atkinson moved to the Toronto World he wrote editorials for publisher W.F. Maclean and became an ardent convert to public ownership and "he remained a public ownership man until his death."9 He then worked eight years at The Globe and became a Liberal and, ironically given The Star's position



today, an advocate of free trade.<sup>10</sup>

As a 24-year-old, he covered a hanging in 1890 and was appalled. "He could never again condone the death penalty, and his newspapers consistently advocated abolition of capital punishment."<sup>11</sup>

When made managing editor of The Star in 1899, Atkinson insisted on full control of policy and that the paper not be a blatant booster of the Liberal Party, whose supporters had bought the paper expressly for that purpose. "A newspaper is a good ally," he said, "but soon becomes useless as the subservient organ of a party."<sup>12</sup> Senator George Cox, a main organizer of the group who bought the paper, said, "But Mr. Atkinson, you must see we cannot give you the free hand you ask. This is unheard of; an entirely new idea. What assurance have we that you will support the policies towards which we are contributing?" Atkinson replied, "Simply this, that I am as warm an admirer of [Liberal leader] Sir Wilfrid [Laurier] as any of you, and believe as firmly in his policies."<sup>13</sup>

Like the radicals whose writings most impressed him and who were then dominant influences in British trade unionism, he found what he sought in liberalism rather than in socialism.

Morgan Phillips has said of the British Labour Party that it derived its beliefs from Methodism rather than from Marxism. So it was with Atkinson. Society must be made good and its injustices corrected. Whether specific wrongs were corrected by socialistic means or otherwise was to him a matter of expediency, he could support measures that were socialistic without being a socialist, or use the methods of capitalism when they better suited the purposes he sought to further.<sup>14</sup>

When the opposition Liberals endorsed a policy of unrestricted reciprocity in trade with the United States, The Globe, a Liberal paper at the time, sent young reporter Atkinson on a tour of ~~Ontario~~ to interview manufacturers on the probable effects. "It may be as the government alleged," Harkness wrote,<sup>15</sup> "that he interviewed only manufacturers of known Liberal sympathies, but, if so, they proved to be uncommonly numerous."

Harkness said Atkinson's editorial policy developed in his early years is "the very warp and woof from which The Star future was woven."<sup>16</sup> Atkinson told University of Toronto students in a speech in 1901 that to be a success a newspaper must appeal to and serve a certain constituency, by which he meant a certain element of the community. The wealthy and intellectual elite already had their own newspapers. "He chose for his 'constituency' the industrial workers and the 'little people' who had no other spokesman, tailoring the news to their taste and fighting their battles for them in his editorial columns."<sup>17</sup>

Atkinson wrote in The Star in 1905:

The building up of goodwill is one of the most difficult of sciences as evidenced by the multitude of failures that have taken place and are continuing to take place annually among aspiring publications. But sometimes after a hundred have failed another will come and build upon their ruins a great newspaper property. The latter apparently had no better opportunity than those who went before. To those outside his success looks like a mere accident. In reality he had the genius of appealing to the public. He had a clear perception of public taste. In other words, he was closest to the people, and therein is probably the greatest requisite for successful journalists.<sup>18</sup>

Harkness noted that getting close to the people meant supporting Liberalism and nationalism while his competitors clung to Conservatism and the British Empire. And he strongly supported the immigrants who were pouring into Toronto.19

George Maitland, who worked with Atkinson as closely as anyone for 40 years, expanded beyond "Laurier and the little guy" and summarized The Star's news policies as they eventually formed: (A) a sturdy self-reliant Canadianism; (B) public ownership of utilities; (C) equal rights and full civil liberties for minorities; (D) the right for labor to organize and strike; (E) town planning and (F) freedom of the individual from fear, want and injustice. Mr. Atkinson's inclination was to support any party that furthered these ends and oppose any party that did not.20

In a classic case of being hoisted by your own petard, The Star advocated reciprocity in trade with the U.S. and a strong Canadian nationalism at the same time. It was the nationalist fervor fanned by The Star that caused voters to reject reciprocity in the 1911 election. Laurier was defeated. Laurier's fall from power ended The Star's support for reciprocity and also the formal support of Laurier and the Liberal Party required by the paper's backers when it was purchased. The final step to complete independence from the shareholders and their business and political influence came in 1913 when Atkinson became majority shareholder.21

The Star has generally avoided the complaint levelled against many other newspapers that advertisers influence the news. Sir John Eaton, The Star's third largest shareholder and biggest advertiser, objected to The Star's left-leaning news policy and sold his shares in 1920, then withdrew Eaton's department store advertising from June 8, 1921 to June 22, 1922.<sup>22</sup> Atkinson boosted the reporting staff to counteract any possible effect on circulation. He was quoted as saying, "Once a newspaper allows an advertiser to think he can influence its editorial policy it loses its independence."

In the Oct. 20, 1919 Ontario election, The Star supported a liquor prohibition referendum and sent reporters into counties that had prohibited liquor for many years and described how crime was less, poverty reduced, and even that industrial disputes were less acrimonious.<sup>23</sup> The referendum for prohibition was passed overwhelmingly, although the Conservative government of W.H. Hearst was defeated. The Star had been militantly prohibitionist since 1916 and as pressure for the appeal of the Temperance Act increased after 1920 so did The Star's militancy on its behalf, Harkness wrote.

Atkinson campaigned against the Hepburn Liberal provincial government's efforts to keep the CIO labor organization out of the Oshawa General Motors plant in 1937. "... Mr. Atkinson assumed personal direction of the campaign on behalf of the Oshawa automobile workers," Harkness wrote. "There were no pretensions The Star was neutral or that it was covering this as

'just a news story.' It was fighting for the right of workers to join the union of their choice, and its position was that those who opposed that right had no case worthy for presentation."24

Writing in Saturday Night in 1954, Gwyn Kinsey, a former Star reporter, said that whenever two or three ex-Star employees got together, they eventually got around to discussing whether it was J.E. Atkinson or his son-in-law, Harry C. Hindmarsh, who was responsible for the sensational development of the Toronto Star. They never answered the question, but Kinsey concluded it was likely a combination of both their efforts, plus the contribution of longtime city editor John R. Bone. "All three were possessed by a drive for circulation so undeviating that any conflicts among them could be resolved. They had, all three, a fearful genius for the Common Touch."25

Harry Comfort Hindmarsh was born in Bismark, New Jersey, in 1887, but grew up in Canada and got a job at The Globe after graduating from University of Toronto in 1909, where he had served as editor of the campus newspaper The Varsity. He transferred to The Star in 1911 where he rose rapidly as city hall reporter, wire editor, city editor, managing editor, vice-president and, eventually, president and head of all editorial departments from Atkinson's death in 1948 until his own death in 1956. Atkinson's son, Joseph S. Atkinson, worked his way through the ranks 'on the mechanical side of The Star's operations and left the news operation in the hands of Hindmarsh. The two reportedly never got along very well.

A short while after Hindmarsh started at The Star, the senior Atkinson brought him home to meet his daughter, Ruth, because he was not happy with some of the other suitors who were calling on her. She was cool to him at first, but they were married in 1915.

Publishers depend on their staffs to implement their policies and Atkinson had his son-in-law to zealously shepherd his thoughts into type. He sometimes did his job too zealously, Harkness reported. The Star had made Catholics angry by fair coverage of life under Communism in Russia. To appease them, Hindmarsh sent reporter Greg Clark to Rome in March, 1939 to cover the coronation of a new pope. "The extravagant coverage from Rome was a typical Hindmarsh job. Lacking the subtle touch of Mr. Atkinson, when he set out to prove The Star was a friend of some person or cause he was likely to go completely overboard as to defeat the purpose he intended."26

Like he did prior to World War I, Atkinson let his pacifist idealism so overwhelm the news coverage it badly played down the approach of World war II. Harkness wrote:

Other papers were full of reports of ultimatums and mobilization and marching of troops, and frightening reports from several correspondents in Berlin and Warsaw, but The Star restrained its news stories with a bald recital of facts.

The day Russia and Germany announced their mutual non-aggression treaty, thus making war almost a certainty, it calmly put its eight column banner [headline] on: "Toronto Man New Salvation Army Head."27

The Star tried to scare the Liberals, who had moved to the right during the war, by writing favorable stories about the

socialist CCF party, the forerunner of "the NDP. "We support the CCF except at elections," Atkinson once remarked.<sup>28</sup> In 1945 The Star sent feature writer B.H. Honderich to Saskatchewan to report on the results of the CCF government's election there. "His series of articles was so favorable the Saskatchewan government had them reprinted and circulated in pamphlet form.<sup>29</sup> They were also favorably received by Atkinson. Honderich was promoted to financial editor at age 27.

When it came to governments, nothing sparked more outrage at The Star in the Atkinson/Hindmarsh era than the Conservative government in Ontario. And it was a long-running outrage, since the election of George Drew in 1943 started a Tory dynasty of 42 years. Drew immediately brought the wrath of The Star on himself by vowing to block family allowance payments from Ottawa. "Reports from Queen's Park were flagrantly slanted," Harkness wrote.<sup>30</sup> Drew easily won the 1945 election in terms of seats, but The Star headline was "Popular vote strong against Drew's Party." Harkness reported that "Mr. Atkinson was displeased with this churlish attempt to minimize Drew's victory, but Hindmarsh had ordered it and liked it and he was allowed to have his own way."<sup>31</sup> The feud between The Star and Drew raged on and nothing Drew did found favour in The Star's pages.

Without Atkinson's more moderate hand on the tiller after he died in 1948, The Star's vehement opposition against the Conservative government, now headed by Leslie Frost, escalated unabated. Not only did Atkinson's death leave Hindmarsh with

unfettered control of the newsroom, but the government's Charitable Gifts Act, apparently aimed at frustrating Atkinson's dying wish to have The Star owned by the Atkinson Charitable Foundation, whipped the paper into a frenzy.

The act was passed in the summer of 1949 preventing any non-religious foundation from owning more than 10 per cent of the capital stock in any company. The first political test of the government after the act was passed was a by-election in Leeds riding in October of 1949. "Hell hath no fury like it," wrote former Star reporter Jonathan Manthorpe in his history of the Conservative dynasty in Ontario.<sup>32</sup> "The Star berated Frost and the Act with every pejorative adjective acceptable in a family newspaper, and it used them in every square inch of space it could find between the masthead and the comics." The paper set up a newsroom in Leeds, sometimes filling three pages with coverage of the by-election, and gave away free copies of the paper to everyone in the riding. The Conservative candidate won handily anyway.

After Atkinson's death The Star became more partisan toward the Liberals federally. Previously, it had only supported the Liberals when the party supported liberal principles, but under Hindmarsh all pretence of non-partisanship was abandoned.<sup>33</sup>

In October, 1948, The Star sent a huge fleet of reporters to the convention that elected George Drew leader of the federal Conservatives. "Their reports, prominently displayed on page one, were markedly unfriendly," Harkness wrote.



During the federal election that followed on June 27, 1949 between Drew and Louis St. Laurent, The Star carried as many as eight stories on Page One in an hysterical attempt to get Drew defeated, Harkness said, leading to a headline that has come to symbolize The Star's use of newspapers for promulgating editorial policy.<sup>34</sup> The Star sent a reporter to Quebec to mastermind a campaign against Camillien Houde, leader of the federal Conservatives in Quebec. The Saturday before the election The Star ran a huge 110-point headline:

KEEP CANADA BRITISH

DESTROY DREW'S HOUDE

GOD SAVE THE KING

Beside it ran a horrible picture of Houde and every story on Page One was anti-Drew. Harkness called it "the most ridiculed front page in The Star's history."<sup>35</sup>

On the provincial front, still seething about the delay in the transfer of The Star to the Atkinson foundation, the paper sent out a reporter to "build up" new provincial Liberal leader Walter Thomson before the Nov. 22, 1951 provincial election. The idea of a pre-paid hospital plan was hatched in The Star's offices and accepted by Thomson. "The Star's campaign was about as fantastic as one can imagine," Harkness reported.<sup>36</sup>

The news policy of the Atkinson/Hindmarsh era was carried into the Honderich era, although certainly toned down. The literature contains a litany of examples of newsroom decision-making being influenced by a news policy that started when the

paper was founded. The list is admittedly selective, picking out illustrations that show news policy in effect. The paper certainly published many more stories that were not affected by policy and The Star's record of mass coverage of assassinations, disasters at sea, Hurricane Hazel and human interest extravaganzas like Marilyn Bell's swim across Lake Ontario and the Dionne quintuplets' birth speaks for itself.

But in studying news policy, we are nonetheless left with a record that is important in assessing today's newsroom because, as Honderich himself points out repeatedly, the paper strives to maintain the Atkinson tradition. While that tradition has been praised for its radicalism in promoting social affairs and for simply providing a lot of good stories written by good journalists, it has also been damned by others concerned with news policy and its effect on decision-making in the newsroom.

"The Star's championing of the underdog was usually attributed to [Atkinson's] smart business sense and to circulation-building strategy," said G. Robert Reeds in Atkinson's obituary in Canadian Forum.<sup>37</sup> He and others pointed out that Atkinson's support of unions stopped at the door of The Star's King Street building and that he fought unionization of the newsroom until he died. When The Star supported some Communist candidates for city council, Reeds said, the Catholic Church urged a boycott of the paper. Atkinson immediately withdrew support of the candidates.<sup>38</sup>

Lest today's employees in The Star newsroom forget the legacy of Mr. Atkinson, they are reminded of his history and philosophy in an Editorial Handbook that each new employee is supposed to read.

Under the heading "What The Star stands for," it says:

Simply put, the soul of The Toronto Star is social reform and social justice -- ideals fostered and reflected on the pages of this newspaper since the days of Joseph E. Atkinson.

Atkinson ... was a staunch proponent of a brand of liberalism that would provide a vehicle for social justice.

.....  
That small-l liberal point of view is still reflected in The Star's editorial pages and news section. To this day The Star's value system and its commitment to it set it apart from other newspapers. It remains as Atkinson intended it to be: A paper for the people that points the way to social and economic reform.<sup>39</sup>

The Editorial Handbook quotes former Star president Martin Goodman: "... the paper must stand for certain principles and these principles should be reflected throughout the paper.<sup>40</sup> Goodman tells new employees that Atkinson "wanted to move faster and farther along the road to social reform than the governments of his day. So he used the news and editorial columns of The Star to identify the social and economic problems and develop public support for legislative solutions."<sup>41</sup>

The handbook tells staffers to remember that The Star "insists on fairness and balanced news coverage" but also says the paper "adheres to Atkinson's tenets" and concludes by saying "You can, and should, keep abreast of The Star's editorial viewpoints by reading the editorial page every day."<sup>42</sup>

The modern history of The Star did not begin auspiciously. Beland Honderich's first full-time journalism job began when a "country bumpkin" from the tiny village of Baden showed up at the Kitchener-Waterloo Record with mismatched clothes, unruly hair and two teeth missing from a hockey game the night before. The city editor said, : "Good God, what kind of hayseed have we got here?"<sup>43</sup>

The "hayseed" that heads The Toronto Star empire today sprouted and ripened rapidly under J.E. Atkinson; and his philosophy, reflected in his news policy, has not changed to any great extent, although the inconsistency between strident nationalism and support for free trade with the U.S. has been straightened out.

A recent statement of The Star's philosophy said:

The Star is proud of its editorial tradition. We are an independent, small-l liberal paper with a concern for the disadvantaged and the powerless. We also take a strong pro-Canadian stance on issues such as trade, investment and culture. These views are not always popular, but we feel it is our duty to lead opinion on major issues rather than just reflect the mainstream point of view. To quote J.E. Atkinson, publisher of The Star during the first half of this century: "Civilization itself rests upon the mind and conscience of the whole people, and for this mind and conscience the press is the best vehicle of expression the world has yet evolved."<sup>44</sup>

Douglas Fisher, a former NDP member of Parliament and, as a Toronto Sun columnist, a long-time and mainly-critical Toronto Star watcher, cheered in print over a tirade against The Star by Canada's free trade negotiator Simon Reisman in 1987. In supporting Reisman's criticisms of The Star's coverage of the

free trade debate, Fisher summarized Honderich's views as he sees them: "They're rooted in anti-Americanism or go-it-alone nationalism; in a belief in the full welfare state, and in Toronto's ethnicities as a model for multiculturalism."45

The Star's coverage of the 1974 federal election campaign brought its news policy's effect on newsroom decision making into the public eye once again. In that election Pierre Trudeau of the Liberals, who had enjoyed favorable coverage by The Star throughout his career, was running against Conservative Robert Stanfield. The Star, having found disfavor with Trudeau at the time, endorsed Robert Stanfield and his promise to bring in wage and price controls to tame economic inflation. Trudeau was running on a platform opposed to wage and price controls but, after elected, implemented them.

Adding to charges that The Star was guilty of slanting the political news in the 1974 campaign was a story phoned in just before the election by then national editor David Crane that ran on the top of the front page under the headline: "90-day freeze in PM's secret pay, price plan."46 The national editor is a head-office administrative job and the person holding the position usually does not write breaking news. The lead said: "The Liberal Cabinet endorsed a secret contingency plan almost a year ago to fight inflation with a short-term freeze of prices and incomes to be followed by controls running up to three years, The Star has learned." The story described the plan without naming sources. Deep in the story a spokesman for Trudeau said the plan was well-

known for months, that Trudeau had revealed it at a press conference in 1973 and that the government had rejected it.

In his book about a later election campaign called Following the Leaders, Clive Cocking reported that Carl Mollins, editor in the Ottawa bureau who soon after quit the paper, objected to the story but was over-ruled.<sup>47</sup> He didn't think it was a legitimate news story. Besides being old, its secret source was a Conservative active in the campaign. "I had the impression," Mollins said, "that it was a story requested by someone higher up at The Star."<sup>48</sup> Crane, now The Star's expert on economic affairs who has made free trade virtually a full-time concern, denied the story was concocted and, Cocking concedes, the fact that Trudeau eventually implemented wage and price controls gave the story credence in retrospect. However, its timing and prominent play just before the election arouses suspicions, since as news it was almost a year old and clearly not a secret.<sup>49</sup>

In 1985 the Conservative dynasty in Ontario that The Star fought at the beginning under George Drew came to an end under Frank Miller and The Star's election coverage was still under fire. Catherine McBride, in a MA thesis at the University of Western Ontario, analyzed press influence on the June, 1985 election, that saw the Liberals and NDP win enough seats to form a coalition and topple the Conservatives after 43 years of continuous power.<sup>50</sup> Miller complained of inaccurate reporting of his campaign by The Star and the mixing of opinion with facts in news stories. "The Toronto Star has always been the worse, by

far," Miller said in a transcript of an interview with the researcher. "The Toronto Star has always had a vested interest in changing news to suit them, in my opinion."51

In Canadian Newspapers: The Inside Story, Walter Stewart offers several anecdotes to illustrate his contention that "all the pushing, shoving and back-stabbing is designed to gain the attention and approval of one man -- Beland H. Honderich." Instead of keeping its hundreds of thousands of readers in mind, The Star "is edited for a single reader, the man who signs his memos 'BHH'."52

Although The Star opposes the Liberals' position in favor of the Meech Lake constitutional accord, the party can still generally count its support. The Star's treatment of its leaders is difficult to ascertain without a complete content analysis, but appears to be inconsistent -- adoration of Pierre Trudeau turned to vehement opposition and then generally supportive; John Turner's policies are generally supported but endorsement of him personally has wavered from outright enthusiasm when he was chosen leader to disillusionment as the party foundered behind the NDP in opinion polls and seemed unable to capitalize on a series of political problems faced by the governing Conservatives.

The Star's attempts to influence political affairs today generates the same type of criticism that it did in the Atkinson and Hindmarsh eras. Allan Fotheringham, whose columns appear in many publications, but not The Star, took delight in ridiculing

The Star's difficulties in handling Turner's leadership problems:

The final indication that the man -- an honest man in the wrong profession -- is doomed, comes from the disguised propaganda of Canada's most political screed masquerading as a newspaper, The Toronto Star.

The country's biggest and richest paper makes no pretence that it is not an organ of the Liberal party beliefs of its boss, one Beland Honderich, who operates his place much like Hearst operated his newspapers-- or the Fleet Street barons operated their penny dreadfuls.

John Bassett, then owner of the disgracefully Tory Toronto Telegram, was once asked if it was not true that he used his paper to push his own views.

Of course, he replied. Otherwise, why would one want to own a paper?

He was at least honest. The Toronto Star tries to disguise its outmoded partisan nature.

On Tuesday, as the anti-Turner cabal sharpened its knives, Tory Westell, a fine former Ottawa correspondent who is now dean of journalism at Carleton University in the capital, had a column that asked whether there was any reason why Turner should remain.

It was quite obviously buried under the only one-column headline on the op-ed page, 21 pages deep into the Star's frenetic Liberalism.

Wednesday, the Star carried a rather desperate piece, on Page One, by Val Sears -- university schoolmate of Turner -- on how the embattled leader could possibly survive, because like the hero of the Rocky films "Turner certainly is a fighter."

We all know that. We also know the Toronto Star never deserts a fighter, unless he is someone who is not a Liberal.<sup>53</sup>

Honderich's appearances at the Davey and Kent government studies of the news media provide insight into his philosophy. He said in testimony before the Davey Committee in 1970, "We believe that the freedom of the press rightly belongs to the people and not the publishers, and that the conduct of the press is, therefore, a very proper subject for public scrutiny."<sup>54</sup> Honderich spoke harshly against the growth of newspaper chains, calling it "dangerous," and, in advocating press councils, said,



"By the things it emphasizes in gathering the news, by its priorities in presenting the news, and by its editorials and interpretive stories, a newspaper can advance certain people, causes and ideas while obscuring or discrediting others." He added that The Star "is proud of its traditions as a crusading newspaper..."<sup>55</sup>

George Bain wrote that The Star's fondness for "people"-stories and stories that "touch the gut" like those of the homeless, the hungry and minority groups "have the incidental benefit of portraying the newspaper as one that cares and, in the case of minorities, of gratifying the persons written about, with the prospect of creating readers now and, more important, in subsequent generations."<sup>56</sup>

The first characteristic of The Star is bigness -- a big organization putting out a big paper. It is very much conscious of its market, of what readers think of it and what they think they want in the paper. If pollster Martin Goldfarb had not been born, The Star would have had to invent him. To the greatest extent possible, news isn't allowed just to happen. It, or what The Star thinks ought to be news, is anticipated, and reporters are assigned to deliver it as midwives. The Star, in becoming big, made stars of its writers -- Gregory Clark, Fred Griffin, Gordon Sinclair, Lou Marsh. Now it is aggressively an editor's paper, which one writer quit, saying that nobody was left anything to call his own. No news person could carp about what it spends to get the news -- about \$25 million a year. There can be argument about what it sometimes spends it on; there always is. A lot of people buy it -- 204 million copies a year, averaging just under 100 pages each. It makes a ton of money. It epitomizes modern, big-business journalism.<sup>57</sup>

In addition to the theme that Honderich keeps a hand on newsroom affairs, although perhaps a little less firmly in recent years as he concentrates on the business side of the paper, the

literature contains several references to problems in determining exactly what Honderich wants.

A 1987 "Who's News" feature on Honderich in The Wall Street Journal inspired by the paper's opposition to the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement, said:

Mr. Honderich says-he isn't the hands-on publisher he used to be. In his hands-on days, he waged battles with his editors that are legendary. Neil Morris, a former Star assistant managing editor, recalls that "sometimes after the first edition was on the streets, Beland would rip the paper apart, denounce most of it, and you'd just have to start over." Peter Newman, a former Star editor-in-chief, says, "It was difficult to follow Beland's instructions because he was so certain about what he didn't want, but no quite so certain about how it should be done.<sup>58</sup>

"Here's the paradox of The Star," said Doug Fetherling in his 1983 profile of Honderich in Saturday Night.<sup>59</sup> It is a huge, smoothly run organization "... but the editorial shop seems always to be in a state of fearful chaos, as everyone tries to figure out what Honderich wants." Honderich is aware of the difficulty -- afraid to make suggestions or comments for fear that they will be blown out of proportion or carried too far.

Fetherling said the rapid turnover of managing editors and editors-in-chief whose job it is to implement Honderich's policy cannot be ignored.<sup>60</sup>

"The communication gap is wide and apparently unbridgeable, and yet Honderich wishes every aspect of the paper to reflect his taste and opinions. Thus, he gives it daily personal attention, which only perpetuates the problem."<sup>61</sup>

The debate over whether Canada should enter into a free trade agreement with the United States is a classic Canadian confrontation pitting big government and big business against big labor and Canadian nationalists. The recent history of The Toronto Star left little doubt what direction The Star's news policy would take, although at one time J.E. Atkinson did support Laurier and reciprocity until it was turned down by the Canadian electorate in 1911. As Martin Goodman explained, "In national affairs, Atkinson stood for a 'sturdy and self-reliant Canadianism'. As a liberal he was attracted to free trade but in practice recognized that protectionism was a way of life."<sup>62</sup>

The Star's coverage of the free trade debate is a modern example of news policy in action and is so topical and important that it is a key factor in making relevant the study of social factors affecting newsroom decision-making. The strong personal umbrage Canada's chief negotiator, Simon Reisman, took with The Star's coverage adds to the importance of the free trade coverage for this study.

On September 22, 1987, at the height of tensions in negotiations for a free trade agreement, Reisman accused Canadian journalists of "creating rumors" that the trade talks were troubled. He singled out The Star and its Washington correspondent, Bob Hepburn, and denounced its coverage of the negotiations: "'The Toronto Star, that rag,' he railed at Hepburn. 'That damn thing is a very poor excuse for a newspaper and I have no respect for it or you.'" <sup>63</sup>

Reisman vowed that when he got some time after the free trade deal was wrapped up he planned

to get to work on this important social question of whether a man, because he's rich and is interested in publishing, is entitled to own publications of such tremendous circulation and influence and able to inject his own personal point of view into it to the degree that Honderich does. I believe that this is a travesty of the democratic process ...64

Sun columnist Doug Fisher used Reisman's remarks about Honderich as a starting point for a lengthy critique. He quoted Arch McKenzie, a reporter in The Star's Ottawa bureau, from an earlier interview, as saying, "I am very much a directed person. If you've got an idea [for a story] you must sell it to Toronto." Fisher went on to say, "At The Star, McKenzie's under publisher Beland Honderich's writ and serves his masterly views." Fisher calls Honderich's use of The Star to push his ideas "the warping of our public life" and cheered Reisman's criticism of it:

Arch McKenzie's admission is common knowledge at The Star and in politics. It's not well-known by outsiders, even by legions of Star readers.

It reduces to this: One man served fearfully by many, directs The Toronto Star along its deliberate and almost always passionate purposes. It's never just a newspaper with news and ads and features and strong editorials. It's always the instrument for Honderich's prejudices and biases.

.....  
You may know The Star has been scorning the truth for two years or so in a campaign against freer trade arrangements with the U.S. David Crane is Honderich's main nationalist oracle. He's cranked out thousands of words on how awful, dangerous, futile and stupid such a deal would be.

.....  
Honderich may block freer trade with the U.S. He's the central blocking force, not John Turner or Ed Broadbent or Joe Ghiz or the pathetic CLC or Mel Hurtig and his pro-Canadians. .... This man has enormous power for good or evil.

The Star is the biggest, wealthiest daily we have. Its influences and consequences have been staggering for national politics and policies. Honderich, the top man at the paper since 1956, is an ideological zealot. I define him as emotionally a rabid nationalist, and politically a social democrat with an authoritarian streak. He sets themes and policies in his paper, not just on the editorial page but through the paper. A modicum of its reporters are liberally minded, if not left wingers. The point is all Star writers know they're hitched to his aims. They know what he wants. Thus a reporter like Bob Hepburn, based in Washington, made a repetitious routine of baiting Simon Reisman, our ambassador in trade negotiations. He played to and for his boss.<sup>65</sup>

A Wall Street Journal story cited earlier about The Star's coverage of the free trade debate said:

In these days of chain-operated papers with polite editorial positions carefully corralled on opinion pages, Mr. Honderich is a press tycoon out of the old school: he uses his paper to sound off. While he's dismissed as an agitator by some, his influence is widely acknowledged, and he's wielding his clout over the trade agreement.

Fans of the free-trade pact say The Star's news columns are one-sided. "The news coverage has been clearly biased and relentlessly anti-American," says Conrad Black, chairman of Hollinger Inc., a newspaper publisher.<sup>66</sup>

The Wall Street Journal quoted an unnamed Star reporter as saying: "Everyone knows that if you want to get on Page One ... the way to play a (free trade) story is to take the negative angle, shoot it right up to the top of the story and hit it as hard as you can."<sup>67</sup>

While the influence from news policy on decision-making in the newsroom seems to be fairly consistent, it appears there are changes ahead that could bring additional forces to bear on how The Star decides what will be in its news columns.

On August 31, 1988, Honderich announced he was stepping down as publisher of The Star, effective Sept. 30, 1988. He will be replaced by David Jolley, who promised to continue the traditions of Atkinson, Hindmarsh and Honderich.<sup>68</sup> It remains to be seen whether he will continue the "hand-on" tradition as well and if his policies will differ from his predecessors.<sup>69</sup>

The Star has been forced to examine its traditional determinants of news value for its readers because of the success of The Sun in attracting readers from The Star's traditional circulation base.

Under pressure from The Sun, The Star has been turning its sights on increasing the percentage of its readers in the Census Metropolitan Area, which has meant less concentration on increasing over-all circulation in the rest of the province. It had some success in recent years, but the gains are coming slowly while The Sun continues to grow steadily.

A graph of over-all Monday-to-Friday circulation patterns since 1970 (see Appendix "D") shows The Star comfortably ahead of the three Toronto papers. But where the figures become most significant for The Star, and its advertisers, is in the Census Metropolitan Area, or prime market of Metro and nearby regions (See Appendix "E"). Here, the Audit Bureau of Circulations measures the market in "CMA households" and shows the number of households increasing from 871,400 in 1977 to 1,182,000 in 1986 (the latest figure available), or 53.7 per cent. The Star's CMA circulation the last decade has, generously speaking, stagnated.

(In reality, it actually declined from 398,069 in 1977 to 374,764 in 1987. It got as low as 367,864 in 1985 before The Star began concentrating its efforts in the CMA.) Meanwhile, The Sun, which doesn't have home delivery Monday to Friday and sells mainly to commuters, increased from a 1977 CMA circulation of 117,750 to 239,265 in 1987, or 103 per cent. If The Sun were to keep increasing at the rate of 12,500 per year as it has done since 1977 and The Star was to stay at its 1987 level, The Sun would pull ahead of The Star before the year 2,000. At that point, advertisers who only want to advertise in the largest paper in the CMA would start switching to The Sun. A decision to expand home delivery to every day of the week would increase chances for the circulation-increase trend to continue, if not accelerate.

The Star is faced with the decision of how to compete with The Sun for readers, which could have a dramatic effect on newsroom decision-making in the immediate future. It must decide whether to try to keep covering the news in its traditional way and with the same news policy or a refined, modern policy; to compete with The Sun on its own turf by concentrating on more sensational stories, necessarily at the expense of some of the areas in which The Star has been strong in its modern era; or to come up with some radically different definitions of news and the role of the modern mass-appeal metropolitan daily newspaper.

There will be changes ahead. Television is now many traditional readers' main source of news and newspapers seem to be following television's agenda and techniques. As newsprint

becomes increasingly expensive and home video display terminals become cheaper, some major changes may be ahead on how the news is delivered. The technological and economical influences on newsroom decision-making will likely increase dramatically and join with the social influences discussed in this paper and present interesting challenges to thoughtful journalists and profound changes for their readers. The more Toronto Star journalists understand about the various influences on decisions about the news, the better prepared they will be to meet the challenges of the future.



NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. This thesis is being written as the Beland H. Honderich era apparently came to an end. On Aug. 31, 1988, Honderich announced his retirement as publisher of The Star, effective Sept. 30, 1988. He remains a chief executive officer of The Star's parent company, however, and at this writing it is too early to tell whether Honderich will divorce himself from the paper's editorial product.

2. There are several different ways to interpret circulation figures and various numbers are used by newspapers. These circulation figures, and others referred to later except where noted, were obtained from various files of the Audit Bureau of Circulations, an independent company that provides advertisers and the newspaper industry with figures regarded as the official paid circulation totals of newspapers that subscribe to the bureau's auditing service.

3. Toronto Star circulation department estimates.

4. Torstar Corporation Annual Report, 1986.

5. Ross Harkness, J.E. Atkinson of The Star (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p.4. (This is the official history of The Star, written by a former reporter. Unless otherwise noted, routine facts in the summary of the paper's history during the Atkinson era will be from this work).

6. Ibid., pp. 38-39.

7. Ibid., p. 20.

8. Ibid., p. 2.

9. Ibid., p. 10.

10. Ibid., p. 11.

11. Ibid., p. 13.

12. Ibid., p. 23.

13. Ibid., p. 21

14. Ibid., p. 9.

15. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

16. Ibid., p. 41.
17. Ibid. [Emphasis mine.]
18. Ibid., p. 75.
19. Ibid., p. 75.
20. Ibid., p. 78.
21. Ibid., pp. 95-96.
22. Ibid., pp. 137-138.
23. Ibid., pp. 218-219.
24. Ibid., p. 234.
25. Gwyn Kinsey, "News With a Divining Rod," Saturday Night (March 17, 1956): 13.
26. Harkness, p. 308.
27. Ibid, pp. 308-309.
28. Ibid., p. 320.
29. Ibid., p. 320.
30. Ibid., p. 342.
31. Ibid., p. 343.
32. Jonathan Manthorpe, The Power and the Tories (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), p. 47.
33. Harkness, pp. 364-365.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., p. 367.
37. G. Robert Reeds, "Joseph Atkinson," Canadian Forum (June, 1948): 56-57.
38. Ibid.
39. Toronto Star Editorial Handbook, David O'Toole, ed., 1985): 3-4. [Emphasis mine.]

40. Ibid., p. 3. [Emphasis mine.]
41. Ibid., p.4. [Emphasis mine.]
42. Ibid., p. 5.
43. Hal Tennant, "I Hate to Interfere, But - . . .," Toronto Life (March 1971): 36.
44. "Please let us explain . . ." Toronto Star, Dec. 31, 1986, p. A15.
45. Douglas Fisher, "Belling Beland," Toronto Sun, Oct. 14, 1987, p. 11.
46. David Crane, "90-day freeze in PM's secret pay, price plan," Toronto Star, June 29, 1974, p. 1.
47. Clive Cocking, Following the Leaders (Toronto: Doubleday, 1980), pp. 170-171.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Catherine McBride, "The Role of the Press in Public Opinion Information: The Rise and Fall of Frank Miller" (MA thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1986).
51. Ibid., p. 56.
52. Walter Stewart, ed., Canadian Newspapers: The Inside Story (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1980), p. 117.
53. Allan Fotheringham, "A paper for true Grits," Toronto Sun, May 6, 1968, p. 12.
54. Senate of Canada, Proceedings of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, Keith Davey, Chairman, No. 16, Jan. 30, 1979 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1970), p. 7.
55. Ibid., p. 10.
56. George Bain, "A beacon of wealthy journalism," Maclean's (June 23, 1986): 42.
57. Ibid.
58. Leonard Zehr, "Publishing up a storm over free trade," Wall Street Journal, Oct. 30, 1987).

59. Doug Fetherling, "The lion in winter," Saturday Night (May, 1983): 55.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid. 58.

62. Toronto Star Editorial Handbook, p. 4.

63. "Reisman calls Star 'a rag' tells reporter he's 'a hack'," The Toronto Star, September 23, 1987, p. A4.

64. Southam News service, edited transcript of an interview between Simon Reisman and Southam News Service reporters John Ferguson and Juliet O'Neil, distributed October 9, 1987.

65. Fisher.

66. Zehr.

67. Ibid.

68. Toronto Star, "New chief executives appointed by Torstar, Sept. 1, 1988, p. 1.

69. Murray Campbell and Stephen Hunt, "Honderich steps down as Star's 'hands-on' publisher," The Globe and Mail, Sept. 1, 1988, p. B6.

## CHAPTER V

### THE STUDY AND ANALYSIS

#### (1) HYPOTHESES

Warren Breed's dissertation, and his follow-up article called "Social control in the newsroom," come to several conclusions arrived at by his own newspaper experience and through talking to journalists at several small and medium-sized papers in the northeastern United States.

A thorough review of the literature indicates that while there has been considerable research in areas surrounding Breed's area of concern, there has been little done that directly tests how news policy is maintained in newsrooms. The entire body of literature, however, when added to Breed's pioneering work, presents a fairly full discussion of the general subject matter and this researcher discovered no convincing evidence that Breed's hypotheses and conclusions are invalid. For these reasons, it appears fruitful to test Breed's hypotheses in a newsroom to see if journalists' perceptions about how news policy is maintained match Breed's conclusions. The newsroom tested will be at The Toronto Star. Breed's study leads to the first five hypotheses of this paper. They are:

(1) The Toronto Star has a news policy that affects news coverage. It is primarily formed by the publisher and its implementation is the most significant control factor in newsroom decision making.

(2) Staffers are not formally told what the news policy is, but learn it through an informal socialization process.

(3) Staffers conform to news policy because of norms established by their reference group.

(4) Staffers are sometimes able to bypass the news policy.

(5) Staffers are able to continue to work in good conscience at a newspaper influenced by news policy.

Testing these five hypotheses will provide insight into whether Breed's theories hold true today at The Toronto Star.

And, since this thesis aims to provide some practical recommendations for journalists at The Toronto Star and other newspapers, a sixth hypothesis strongly suggested by the literature will be tested:

(6) Staffers want more consultation with senior editors and management.

## (2) METHODOLOGY

This study was suggested by the doctoral dissertation of Warren Breed. While the initial temptation, with respect to research methodology, was to replicate his study in as much detail as possible, the opportunity to enlarge on Breed's work presented itself. Thus, the decision was made to develop an information-collecting instrument (a mail questionnaire) and use it without losing entirely the flavour of the "qualitative method" used by Breed. In this sense, the methodology here may be described as "qualitative."

Breed conducted his survey by going to newsrooms and asking whoever was in charge if he could interview people who did not look busy at the time.<sup>1</sup> Breed's method was not used for this study. His method could produce answers that were suspect. "It is not possible to determine how much, if any, handpicking was done by executives to deliver staffers with 'safe' views or strong loyalties to management," Breed admitted.<sup>2</sup> His method prevents anonymity from being guaranteed. And, like Breed, Daniel Garvey Jr., the only researcher found who tried to duplicate Breed's study, was forced to do his interviews in a nearby bar after work when journalists had time to answer questions.<sup>3</sup> Also, Breed's method raises the prospect of the interviewer imposing his view on the respondent, which could lead to charges that the interviewer worded questions in such a way that he unduly influenced the respondents to answer the way he wanted them to. In fact, there is some indication this happened in Breed's study. There is a rather disturbing statement in Breed's Thesis that "several" interviewees remarked at the close of the interview: "I'd never seen things in this light before."<sup>4</sup>

Instead, for this study, a mailed questionnaire was used to obtain data to test the hypotheses. In addition to the general observation that research has shown that the number of respondents and quality of data is comparable, if not superior, in a mailed questionnaire compared to face-to-face interviews,<sup>5</sup> for this study this researcher and his advisers concluded that a mailed questionnaire would elicit the best information.

A key reason for mailing the questionnaires to homes was that Toronto Star management specified that Star facilities not be used for this independent survey.<sup>6</sup> This precluded using The Star's internal mailing system and its computerized home-address mailing system. Star management also indicated its preference that the questionnaire not be distributed or answered while respondents were at their jobs.

Another realistic reason for mailing questionnaires to respondents' homes was that since the nature of the study involves staffers expressing attitudes, opinions and perceptions of the work of their fellow employees and their bosses, it is likely more people would do so in private.

The questionnaires were mailed in June, 1988, to all 245 non-management journalists actively engaged in writing and editing Toronto Star news stories, including all foreign and domestic bureaux, and the Business, Sports, Life and Entertainment departments. Names and home addresses were obtained from the Southern Ontario Newspaper Guild. In addition, questionnaires were sent to 16 management employees who directly supervise the writing and editing of news, or administer those who do. Management names and home addresses were obtained from telephone listings.

Those editorial department members not surveyed include secretaries, switchboard operators, clerks, copy runners and other support personnel not directly engaged in writing and editing news stories for the daily paper. Also not included, in



an effort to keep survey numbers manageable, were editorial writers, photographers, and writers and editors primarily concerned with weekly "neighborhood news" supplements and advertising supplements.

### (3) THE QUESTIONNAIRE

An 81-item questionnaire was compiled as a 12-page booklet, which included a signed cover letter under a University of Windsor letterhead, and two blank pages for answers to open-ended questions and additional comments. Questionnaire packets included the booklet and a stamped return envelope. A reminder letter was mailed a week later. (A copy of the questionnaire is included as Appendix "F" to this study).

The cover letter identified the researcher as a copy editor on the city desk at The Star and promised anonymity. Respondents were not required to provide their names. Co-operation was asked for help to gather information for a graduate-level thesis "researching factors that influence decision-making by reporters and editors." Respondents were asked to try to answer all questions, but put a line through any that did not apply to them.

Under "definitions," respondents were told that the study concerned news stories rather than editorials and personal opinion columns. "News policy" was defined as "the more-or-less consistent orientation shown by a news organization toward various issues and interests in its news columns."

(4) RESPONSE

A total of 109 questionnaires was returned out of the 261 mailed out, for an over-all response rate of 41.8 per cent.

Non-management replies totalled 105 of 245, for a return rate of 42.9 per cent. Management replies totalled 4 of 16, for a return rate of 25 per cent.

Six of the responses were received after the data had been analyzed, which meant the total number used for the analysis was 103, or 39.5 per cent of the total distributed. Five late responses were from non-management employees and one was from a management employee. Written comments on the open-ended section from all 109 questionnaires returned were used for the analysis.

The poor response from management is disappointing but not fatal to the project. The focus of the study is on how employees in general are influenced in their news decision-making, so the refusal of 12 of 261 potential respondents to include their views will not change the results significantly. Nonetheless it would have been interesting to compare management and non-management responses if more management employees had co-operated.

It is also disappointing that only one of nine editors on the news desk responded. The news desk is a key point where news policy is put into effect. These editors, under the guidance of the managing editor, choose what stories get placed in the paper and where they get placed. Again, their reluctance to share their views is regrettable but not fatal. It would have been interesting to compare their perceptions with others'

perceptions, but the main thrust of the research is left intact.

Most respondents answered virtually all of the questions. More than half, 60 of 109 -- or 55 per cent -- took the time to provide useful comments in the open-ended section. Even one respondent who tore the questionnaire in half and returned it completed the answers before doing so.

-----

TABLE ONE

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE ACCORDING TO DIVISION

DIVISION	NUMBER OF MEMBERS <sup>7</sup>	% OF TOTAL	NUMBER RETURNED	% RETURNED	RETURN RATE
Administrative	13	4.5	2	1.9	15.4%
News desk	9	3.5	1	1.0	11.1
City desk/Sat./Sun.	118	45.2	47	45.6	39.9
National desk	28	10.7	9	8.7	32.1
Foreign desk	14	5.4	7	6.8	50.0
Business	22	8.4	6	5.8	27.3
Life	10	3.8	9	8.7	90.0
Sports	26	10.0	8	7.8	30.8
Other	21	8.0	9	8.7	42.9
Not indicated			5	4.9	
Total	261	100.0	103	100.0	

-----

The data received appear sufficient for a useful analysis of the perception of 103 Toronto Star reporters and editors toward social influences on decision-making in the newsroom. The results speak for themselves: they are a simple compilation of the opinions of the people who answered. The percentage of respondents from each division approximate the percentage of questionnaires mailed to each division, so it appears the answers are representative of the newsroom as a whole.<sup>8</sup> We don't know

what the reality is for most of the answers sought. What we do know, however, is the perception a large number of staffers have of the reality. For those people, however, and for this research, it is their perception that is most important since it is their perceptions they go by when making decisions about the news.

#### (5) RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Except for the written comments to open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire, answers were tabulated on a personal computer at the University of Windsor using the computer program called Statistical Package for the Social Sciences<sup>9</sup> to obtain the frequencies of answers to each question and an ordinal level (or ranking) for each category of respondent. This allows for simple testing of the hypotheses by comparing the mean (that is, the average) response for each question where respondents were asked to circle a number between 1 and 8. In addition to the over-all population's perceptions, the results show how various categories of employees answered. The categories, or variables, analyzed were: (1) management/non-management; (2) writer/editor; (3) division (city desk, national desk, etc.); (4) gender; (5) age; (6) level of education; (7) years experience as a journalist; (8) years employed by The Star; and (9) political philosophy.

To use all the data collected would be beyond the scope of this Master's thesis. The mean scores from the entire population to each question, plus a list of the number of respondents from

each demographic category, are included as Appendix "G", but the wealth of other data that analyzes the responses according to each demographic category will not be included as part of this paper. A copy will, however, be left with the Department of Communication Studies at the University of Windsor and will also be made available by the researcher to interested parties.

Rather than a detailed quantitative analysis of the results based on statistics, this study will be a qualitative one, using the data gathered by the questionnaire to illustrate the conclusions reached. Analysis of each hypothesis will be based on the mean score of the over-all population's answers to the questionnaire and supported by the written comments to the open-ended questions.

It is worth noting that, although not a formal part of this analysis, the breakdown of answers by background variables (division worked for, age, sex, experience etc.) showed, in general, remarkably little variance. Nonetheless, this finding of few significant differences between demographic groups is useful information. Although returns from some categories of respondents were too small for valid statistical analysis, enough meaningful information was gathered to come to the general conclusion that the perception of news policy and its maintenance in the newsroom does not vary significantly among the staff as a whole. There appeared to be some difference in perception between managers and non-managers, but since only three managers responded in time to be included in the analysis, it would be dangerous to make any

conclusions based on this information. But little variance was indicated in answers, whether respondents were writers or editors, male or female, young or old, experienced or inexperienced journalists, veterans at The Star or newcomers; or what division they work for.

#### (1) HYPOTHESIS ONE

THE TORONTO STAR HAS A NEWS POLICY THAT AFFECTS NEWS COVERAGE. IT IS PRIMARILY FORMED BY THE PUBLISHER AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION IS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CONTROL FACTOR IN NEWSROOM DECISION-MAKING

The hypothesis is strongly backed by the survey. In addition, the influence of senior editors on enforcing the publisher's policy and their own policies appears to be much stronger than suggested by Breed.

#### (a) News policy

The suggestion that The Star has a news policy, raised because Breed said all newspapers have such and policy and strongly endorsed in the literature about journalism and The Star, was strongly supported by respondents. Equally strong was the support for the statement that stories that reflect news policy are given more prominent play in the paper than warranted by news value, indicating significant support for the contention that news policy affects news coverage.

---

QUESTION	<u>TABLE TWO</u>	MEAN
	(8 = "Strongly agree") (1 = "Strongly disagree")	
The Toronto Star has a news policy		6.4
	(8 = "Very often") (1 = "Never")	
Stories that reflect news policy are given more prominent placement than warranted by news value		6.4

---

Some written comments support the hypothesis that there is a news policy:

---

TABLE THREE

"Have you ever heard of Beland H. Honderich?"

"[Read the] biography of Atkinson"

"Pro-Liberal stance is edited in, or assignments slanted that way -- opposition is often edited out of story, neglected, or 'hidden'."

"Political stories' slants are dictated almost daily (if not hourly)."

"What does it mean to Metro? Free trade. What does it mean to Metro? Free trade. What does it mean to Metro? Free trade. What does it mean to Metro? Free trade."

---

A few comments, however, did not support the hypothesis:

---

TABLE FOUR

"Only in the style is it done, not the info provided or the angle. To my knowledge, free trade and Meech Lake are the only two issues governed by policy -- it, however, does not preclude coverage of stories in opposition to that policy."

"There is no coherent news policy."

---

(a) News policy and senior editors

And while respondents agree fairly strongly that policy stories mostly originate in the publisher's office, there is equally strong support for the statement that where no news policy has been established by the publisher, editors attempt to set their own policy. Although Breed touched on the influence of editors in this situation and attempts by editors to remain independent from publishers, the strong support for this factor is one of the most significant findings of this study.

---

TABLE FIVE

QUESTION	MEAN
	(8 = "strongly agree") (1 = "strongly disagree")
"Policy stories" mostly originate in the publisher's office.	5.7
In areas where no news policy has been established by the publisher, editors attempt to set their own news policy.	5.7

---

The finding is made more significant when a second factor is considered that was raised by the respondents themselves without a question on the topic being asked: second-guessing by senior editors in apparent attempts to follow unclear publisher's policies or to fill policy voids with policies that will please the publisher. This factor was raised in the literature by others writing about The Star and the large number of strong comments of respondents to this survey strongly indicates that this is a major influence on decision-making in The Toronto Star newsroom.



---

TABLE SIX

"The news desk often seems to second-guess what the brass wants to see played up, rather than using their own news judgment."

"I have allowed horribly written stories into the paper because [senior] editors ordered they be run."

"Much of it is caused by middle management over-reaction to the publisher's whims."

"Editors dictate news angles according to their own personal politics, not just to conform to Star policy. However not all editors let policy or their own views interfere in reporting and writing. Most don't. I find the situation is much better [lately]"

"Editors -- in particularly news editors -- spend much of their time anticipating what they think the publisher will like -- often second-guessing themselves in the process."

"The fundamental effect is editors second-guessing the publisher."

"Some news stories are shaped to fit editors' initial beliefs about what the story is about even if that initial premise is discovered to be false after the story is assigned. This comes mainly from the news desk ..."

"It is often irrational -- senior editors anticipating the publisher's whim and still getting it wrong."

"Fear of the publisher and trying to second-guess him."

"The news desk often seems to second-guess what the brass wants to see played up, rather than using their own news judgment."

"There are no villains in all this. Honderich is not a villain. The editors are not villains and the biggest toadies in the chain are not villains but victims of the system and their own sense of false worth."

"[What affects decision-making in the newsroom is] a corporate culture which is deeply set in the newsroom: What do I think the publisher/my superiors want to see. The result is a form of second-guessing, which more often than not stems from a judgment call which the supervisor/publisher may not even desire. So the deep assumption of a desired call produces the damage-- seldom is the supervisor/publisher's view actually sought."

"It's my opinion that editors and reporters frequently get the idea that the publisher or "they" want a story played in a rigid way and try to conform, when no such directions were given."

"Sometimes someone's ideas about news policy are found to distortions of what the publisher and senior management really want. Too much second guessing goes on."

"High-level editors decide what they want (what they think the publisher wants, really). They do not tell the writers what that is. Then they condemn the writers for not coming up with it."

"Although there is a news policy, it is not like a blanket "Big Brother" situation controlling what goes in. On the contrary, The Star is so big and the internal communication is so poor that decisions are made by people constantly making assumptions about what they think their superior wants to see."

"There is more decision-making made in anticipation of the publisher's desires these days by senior editors than from direct orders."

"I wrote a story critical [of a government agency.] False info was added to make it more critical -- to fit an editor's preconceived notion of what the story was."

"Powerful people who do cannot communicate spawn toadies. And toadies do not interpret because they do not understand. They mimic what they don't fully grasp. And the result is that toadies spend half their time mimicking and half their time covering their asses."

-----

The influence of the news policy is largely exerted by senior editors and department heads. It is enforced by the key part of the newsroom operation called the "news desk" where a small group of powerful "news editors," under the direction the managing editor, decide what stories will be placed in the paper, where they will placed and how long they will be. It is where final decisions are made about the content of stories and the wording of stories and headlines.

Readers of earlier sections of this study will recall that only two administrative senior editors of 16 polled and one news desk editor of nine polled responded to the questionnaire. More responses from members of the group identified frequently as "second-guessing" the publisher and over-reaction to seniors' wishes or perceived wishes would have provided more information on this factor, which appears to be a major influence in newsroom decision-making.

## (ii) HYPOTHESIS TWO

STAFFERS ARE NOT FORMALLY TOLD WHAT THE NEWS POLICY IS, BUT LEARN IT THROUGH AN INFORMAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

As we have seen in the discussion of Hypothesis One, there is strong agreement that The Star has a news policy. How does the staff learn what that policy is? How is enforced? There is strong support for Breed's contention that the process is not formally handed down but instead informally transmitted through a socialization process.

Before analyzing the questionnaire answers as they relate to the hypothesis, it is necessary to discuss the special type of rewards and sanctions in the world of the working journalist. Non-journalists may assume that having a secure job with fair pay would be enough of a reward to keep reporters and editors happy, and, that if firings or demotions for bucking policy are rare, there are few reasons for not bucking policy.

Journalism is an ego-intensive line of work. The journalists' product is displayed for public view every day. Good reporters strive to get stories on the front page. They want good assignments that are likely to get their stories good play. Journalists at each news outlet seek the esteem of other journalists within the organization and also those of competing news outlets. There is a certain degree of competition within news organizations for good assignments and good play in addition to the natural competition between news organizations for good stories. Getting bad assignments, having stories rewritten, "buried" or not used, are significant sanctions. Good reporters, by definition, are self-confident. Self-confidence is necessary to confront powerful people or reluctant news-makers to get their information and then more self-confidence is needed to assume the responsibility of choosing on behalf of the readers what facts to publish and how to write them. Editors, most of whom were reporters at one time, have the same reward/sanction value system. Good editors want to work on good stories that get good play. They want their ideas reflected in the newspaper, dislike having their headlines and page layouts changed and, if anything, require more self-confidence than reporters since they are often the last person to see a story before it is published. The unique sources of journalists' rewards and sanctions must be appreciated in order to understand the social influences on newsroom decision-making.

7

(a) Formal indications of policy

Few of the respondents learned about news policy directly from the publisher. Simply talking to the publisher is a rare occurrence and talking to him about policy is even more rare. Although some comments in the open-ended section of the questionnaire mention incidences of editors directly ordering staffers to conform to policy, the over-all responses indicate that direct criticism from superiors for attempts to buck policy are very rare. The Star's editorial handbook, as a formal indication of policy was mentioned only once.

-----  
TABLE SEVEN

QUESTION	MEAN
	(8 = "Very often") (1 = "Never")
I have talked to the publisher.	2.5
I have been criticized by superiors for writing or editing decisions that violated news policy.	2.1
I have discussed news policy with the publisher.	1.6
	(8 = "Strongly agree") (1 = "Strongly disagree")
My superiors have <u>formally</u> indicated to me what <u>The Star's</u> news policy is about specific stories.	3.2
My superiors have <u>formally</u> indicated to me what <u>The Star's</u> news policy is in general.	2.8

-----

Although the staff as a whole strongly disagrees that policy is formally indicated by superiors, some comments reveal that fairly direct indications are sometimes felt:

---

TABLE EIGHT

"As an editor (not in management) we don't have a chance in these matters [policy stories]. We do what we are told and the easiest is to go along with The Star policy flow."

"I have been informed very directly that we should play up [certain policy stories]. ... My editor has stated flatly that when a story idea comes out of a feature meeting, we'll jump to it, no matter how inane some people in our department may think it is."

"As a summer student we were given policy manuals."

"Some years back there was a kidnapping in the Eaton family. Eaton's is a heavy advertiser. A member of the Eaton family called the publisher requesting it not be covered. The front page editor wanted it as the "black line" [the main Page One story]. The publisher ordered it played at the bottom of the page. [The editor laying out the page] resigned in protest."

"The most frequent direction [when I have edited a story differently than I felt it should be edited] was to not touch a word, or only 'dot the i's and cross the t's.' That suggested the story had already been dealt with by the powers that be."

---

(b) Informal socialization process

Staffers clearly agree they learn news policy "through the grapevine" by talking to more experienced newsroom employees and that the process is more informal than formal. Without prompting by the wording of the questionnaire, two staffers used the word "osmosis" to explain how they learned about policy, the same word used by Breed.

Toronto Star journalists read their own paper regularly, which Breed cited as a key way staffers learn the policy by discovering what stories are rewarded with good pay.

Respondents also claim to read the editorial page fairly often, where the paper's position is spelled out daily. Star staffers are divided on whether they are "expected" to write and

edit stories that conform to policy, but say "discussions" with editors often include suggestions about what angles to play up.

This response, as well as some comments on the open-ended section, conform to observations by Breed and others in the literature who have noted that editors often claim to make suggestions for reasons supposedly based on news judgment rather than for maintaining policy. A story, for instance, can be ordered re-written to put the latest information at the top if that latest information happens to conform to the angle the editor wants for the story. If the original story already contains the angle the editor wants, the new information can be declared irrelevant or not as interesting and buried or not used. Similarly, although promotions of personnel are seen as sometimes being rewards for conforming to policy, this reason would rarely, if ever, be formally cited for decisions to promote or not promote a staffer. It is more likely the person's news judgment or leadership ability would be given as the reason.

-----  
TABLE NINE

QUESTION

MEAN  
 (8 = "Strongly agree")  
 (1 = "Strongly disagree")

New newsroom staffers learn the "news policy" through the grapevine by talking to more experienced reporters.

6.5

There is a tendency to promote people who are seen as likely to go along with policy.

5.5

My superiors have informally indicated to me what The Star's news policy is in general.

5.1

My superiors have <u>informally</u> indicated to me what <u>The Star's</u> news policy is about specific stories.	5.1
	(8 = "Very often") (1 = "Never")
I read <u>The Toronto Star</u> .	7.6
Editors' discussions with more junior editors include suggestions about what angles in stories to play up.	6.4
Editors' discussions with reporters about assignments include suggestions about what angle to play up.	6.2
I read <u>The Toronto Star's</u> editorial page.	5.3
Staffers are expected to write and edit stories to conform to news policies.	4.7

Comments on the questionnaire responses strongly support Breed's socialization theory of how policy is learned, especially when one keeps in mind the unique reward and sanctions system at work in the journalists' newsroom society. The indications of policy cited in the comments typically come from peers or lower-level staffers rather than as direct orders from above. When superiors indicate policy, they usually are vague about why they want a story done a certain way or, when possible, base the suggestion on news judgment.

#### TABLE TEN

"I do sense sometimes that the publisher has too much 'say' in what does and does not go in the paper." [Emphasis mine.]

"I think I got hired because I know The Star style--probably without ever having to think about it."

"[I learned news policy] in The Print Room [a bar in The Star building] from editors and reporters."

"I was told clearly and unequivocally that a certain economist was the publisher's favorite by a veteran copy editor."



I heard it several times directly or indirectly -- but never by memo or statement from the highest sources -- that no matter what the 'expert' said it was always on front."

"One can't really describe something that is invisible-- the unseen hand."

"More through osmosis. You just learn"

"You usually hear about The Star stand from peers."

"Osmosis and reading the editorials, mostly, but early on friendly editors pointed out policy in a good humored sort of way."

"In my experience, news judgment is framed by what you think senior editors are looking for or expect. As a result, it is sometimes necessary to write a story highlighting the 'leftist' news value high in a story at the expense of balance and fair play. And when editors are expecting sensational, you give them sensational, even if in your own opinion, the story is merely 'interesting'." [Emphasis mine.]

"No one at The Star ever coached me or suggested specific news policy. But I guess if my stories strayed too much from general policy, someone would have a talk with me."

"The publisher's views are only vaguely known to me through the grapevine."

"I learned very gradually over the years. Once ... I was slated to cover a protest meeting over some sleazy move [a major developer] was trying to pull (and eventually did of course). [A senior editor] phoned me a few hours before the meeting and advised me to remember as I covered the meeting that The Star has a 'special relationship' with [the developer]. I wasn't quite sure what he meant but I didn't care in terms of my assignment. I just said 'yes, yes' then covered the thing like I would anyway. Much of the story got in the next day."

"If you are new in the organization, you quickly get the impression that you often have to write 'Star' stories."

-----

### (c) The story assignment process

The easiest way to enforce news policy is to regulate what stories are done in the first place. Making sure policy stories are covered and deciding not to cover events that are likely to

result in anti-policy stories are much easier than having to have the stories re-written or having them buried or not used. Of course many events cannot be ignored, but policy can be maintained by assigning reporters likely to produce stories that do not violate policy. Respondents were evenly divided on questions about the significance of the assignment process on maintaining policy. While enough agreement was expressed to indicate it is a factor, it was not strong. An explanation might be that because the other factors that work to socialize staffers toward accepting policy direction are so strong that they accept the assignment process without questioning its results or realizing its effect as a prior restraint on anti-policy stories.

---

TABLE ELEVEN

QUESTION	MEAN
	(8 = "Strongly agree")
	(1 = "Strongly disagree")
Reporters who willingly conform to <u>Star</u> news policy are given better assignments.	4.6
	(8 = "Very often")
	(1 = "Never")
Stories are assigned because those stories conform to news policy.	5.0
Stories on some topics are assigned to reporters whose views are known to conform to news policy.	4.8
Stories are not assigned because stories conflict with news policy.	4.2

---

Only one respondent commented directly on the assignment process role in maintaining news policy.

---

TABLE TWELVE

"It's especially noticeable on the assignment desk when after assigning a reporter to cover a speech by [a certain controversial figure] for example, the assignment editor is questioned by [a senior editor] about why we're wasting that reporter's time."

---

(d) The editing process

Once the stories are assigned and written they enter the editing process. Reporters, under The Toronto Star contract with its editorial staff's union, must be consulted if their leads are substantially changed. They have no veto power, but can have their bylines removed if they disagree with the change. Other than this minor control, once reporters are done writing the story it is out of their control. Reporters pay close attention to major changes to their copy and editors are very conscious of their decisions being over-ruled by more senior editors. As mentioned previously, significant changes to one's work is regarded as a significant sanction to good journalists. Having one's byline removed from stories is also a significant sanction. A reporter whose byline was regularly removed from his or her stories would likely find dissatisfaction with their role at the paper and management would likely find dissatisfaction with the reporters.

It is natural that when one's work is changed one endeavors to write or edit stories in the future that will not be changed.

When changes are made to have stories conform to policy, even if other reasons such as news judgment are cited for the changes, the tendency for journalists to tailor their work to avoid changes to their copy is a significant influence in maintaining policy. Respondents to the survey are divided on how often stories are substantially re-written to conform to policy, but agree fairly strongly that when their work is re-written they learn from the changes and apply what they learn to future work.

An explanation for the ambivalence on how often stories and leads are re-written is, again, that the fact that re-writing is not needed frequently is evidence that the other factors maintaining policy are so effective that stories are usually written to conform to policy in the first place and therefore usually do not need to be re-written.

The term "editing" in the context of this discussion includes editors' headlines and decisions about where the story will be placed in the paper. Respondents' answers indicate that headlines and story placement are ways news policy is manifested.

---

TABLE THIRTEEN

QUESTION	MEAN
	(8 = "Strongly agree") (1 = "Strongly disagree")
When my stories or headlines are changed, I learn from the changes and apply what I learn to my work in the future.	5.8
	(8 = "Very often") (1 = "Never")
Stories that reflect news policy are given more prominent placement than warranted by news value.	6.4
Headlines are written to conform to news policy.	5.6
Stories are re-written to conform to news policy.	4.5
Leads are substantially re-written.	4.3
Stories are substantially re-written.	4.2

---

Respondents' comments support the contention that the editing process has a significant effect on news decision-making by staffers. A noticeable theme is the significance respondents attach to where stories are placed in the paper. It is clear reporters want their stories to get good play.

---

TABLE FOURTEEN

"Reporters can sometimes be assigned or do a story that you know has to be written differently than you would like, or feel is appropriate, because of the subject or content. And a sharp reporter knows how to write a story for a particular editor to get better play."

"It doesn't have to be formally spelled out. You don't write pro-free trade stories and expect to see them on the front. You do expect to see your anti-free trade stories on the front."

"I was told to write a 'request' story [taking a certain angle on a policy story]. Doing interviews, I found out that was not the case. The story was craftily re-written to wrongly present the first angle as fact and news. Thank goodness my byline was taken off. No one ever said anything to me."

"One chooses the angle one feels will garner the 'best play' on the pages. Because my attitudes fit with Star policy in many spheres, this usually doesn't pose a conflict. But occasionally it does."

"I always write stories the way I feel The Star wants them. If I write them the way I see it, it invariably is not printed."

"Stories are re-written to reflect editorial policy or to pander to the lowest common denominator. (Sometimes these two meet!)"

"I tried to get a pro-free trade story in the paper for days with no success. The specific story was a legitimate news story."

### (III) HYPOTHESIS THREE

STAFFERS CONFORM TO NEWS POLICY BECAUSE OF NORMS ESTABLISHED BY THEIR REFERENCE GROUP

Breed used the term "reference group" but here the term is used without the formal psychological/sociological meaning usually associated with the term. Perhaps "membership group" would be more appropriate. Journalists at The Toronto Star belong to their own membership group that is distinct from the rest of society and from other journalists. There are likely reference/membership groups within The Star newsroom, but in this discussion Breed's "reference group" terminology is used as meaning Toronto Star journalists as a whole.

Despite the impression created in the literature review about The Star's history and internal conflict about news policy,

the pleasant nature of the activity appears to contribute to conformity to news policy. Respondents as individuals very much like what they do for a living. The pleasant nature of the work is cited by Breed as a significant factor in the social control process and respondents for this study strongly agree they enjoy their chosen line of work. As individuals, they agree fairly strongly that they like working at The Star, although they are not so sure about whether their fellow employees are as happy as they are since respondents are divided on whether morale is high in The Star's newsroom. Although over-all morale is not perceived as being high, this finding does not significantly reduce support for the hypothesis, since individuals are affected in their jobs by their own morale, and as individuals The Star staff seems happy in their work. They tend to agree that they are proud of The Star's editorial product and that they are part of a team doing a good job. They also tend to agree to they are paid fairly for their work..

Breed cited "esteem for superiors" as a factor in maintaining policy. While respondents to the questionnaire tended to disagree that they conform to policy out of respect for their superiors, the weight given that response is reduced by response to a question about who staffers are most concerned with when writing or editing. As we shall see, immediate superiors rank highly in this regard. In addition, it is not surprising that staffers would tend to disagree when bluntly asked if they conform to news policy out of respect for their superiors.

"Conform to news policy" has negative connotations and the negative response may have been influenced by a reluctance by respondents to agree they conform to news policy, whether it is out of respect for superiors or any other reason.

---

TABLE FIFTEEN

QUESTION	MEAN
	(8 = "Strongly agree) (1 = "Strongly disagree")
I enjoy being a journalist.	7.2
I enjoy working at <u>The Star</u> .	6.0
I am paid fairly.	5.6
I am proud of <u>The Star's</u> editorial product.	5.5
I feel part of a team with the common goal of getting the news and presenting it well.	5.2
I conform to news policy out of respect for my superiors.	3.2

---

Respondents were asked to indicate how important eight different audiences are to them when they write or edit stories. Some qualifications are necessary when assessing the answers. "General readers" were said to be very important to respondents. This is useful and heartening information, but, in reality, must fall in the category of a "motherhood" response. It would be shocking if journalists answered any other way.

When the "general readers" category is set aside, however, immediate superiors and senior editors were ranked next in line, which indicates that although respondents, as mentioned earlier, tended to say they do not conform to news policy out of respect for their superiors, they seem to consider the reaction



of their superiors a significant influence when writing or editing stories. Co-workers also have significant influence.

It is also natural that newsmakers are seen as a concern when journalists do their job, although their importance far behind "general readers" is worth noting in view of some studies cited in the literature review earlier that indicated newsmakers have a strong effect on deciding how journalists define news.

The publisher, journalists not at The Star and decision-makers in the community not involved with the story tend not to be important as other audiences when writing and editing stories. Again, it would be unrealistic to expect journalists to admit they write to please the publisher. It could also be argued that the publisher, like journalists outside the paper and community leaders, is outside the journalists' membership group. And, again, if the senior editors and socialization theories are valid, the publisher does not have to be perceived as a concern to be a concern. His influence is felt though walls.

---

TABLE SIXTEEN

QUESTION	MEAN
	(8. = "Very important") (1 = "Not very important")
What audience are you most concerned about when writing or editing stories?	
General readers	7.4
My immediate superior	5.6
Senior editors	4.7
Newsmakers involved with the story concerned.	4.4
My co-workers	4.1
Decision-makers in government and the community	3.4
The publisher	3.3
Other journalists not at <u>The Star</u>	2.6

---

There were no comments to the open-ended section of the questionnaire that directly apply to Hypothesis Three.

(iv) HYPOTHESIS FOUR

STAFFERS ARE SOMETIMES ABLE TO BYPASS NEWS POLICY

Breed's study was largely about conflict in the newsroom resulting from the existence of a news policy and efforts by reporters and editors to fight it. This builds contradictions into his theory. He seeks to make a case that there is a policy in every newsroom subtly transmitted and maintained by socialization, then seeks to explain how the policy is

circumvented. The two concepts clash, but, this very conflict is the heart of the theory. It accounts for the reality that despite the built-in conflict, enough co-operation is found to get the newspaper published every day. There is a news policy, staffers recognize this reality and consciously or unconsciously go along with it; or find ways to circumvent it when they can.

The present study strongly supports Breed's contention that staffers are sometimes able to bypass policy. Respondents' answers to the questionnaire, for the most part, support the bypassing mechanisms cited by Breed. Comments on the open-ended part of the questionnaire add strong support the hypothesis.

Three bypassing mechanisms stand out in the survey at The Toronto Star: beat reporters are largely self-assigning; reporters do not hesitate to complain when they disagree with the way their stories have been re-written and, as revealed in the written comments, reporters are adept in their writing at including anti-policy angles and information in stories with pro-policy leads.

Respondents believe fairly strongly that beat reporters are largely self-assigning. These reporters cover established areas of news generation: political bodies, police, courts, labor, the environment, housing etc.. And it is in these areas where policy stories are most likely to arise. Beat reporters are given a chance to become somewhat expert in their specialty and senior editors, who have many areas to deal with and are not given areas of specialty in which to develop expertise, are largely dependent

on the beat reporters for their information.

Related to beat reporters' use of their higher status to circumvent policy is Breed's contention that reporters who gain "star" status are more able to write anti-policy stories. Our respondents agree, but not strongly.

Star staffers claim reporters frequently voice their opposition when they disagree with the way stories have been rewritten. They also tend to agree, but less strongly, that staffers object to superiors when they disagree with story topics, angles, editing and placement. This indicates reporters are not docile automatons who don't care whether their stories are distorted. In addition, there is the formal contractual agreement between The Star and its unionized editorial employees that reporters will be consulted when their leads are changed.

Other bypassing mechanism suggested by Breed are not as strongly supported in the survey, but, when considered in proper context, do not significantly diminish the strong support for the hypothesis cited above and in the comments to follow.

Respondents tended to agree, but not strongly, that policy guidelines are not rigid and were divided on whether the policy changes frequently. In any event, there is no evidence the news policy is a formal, unbending set of guidelines that are difficult to circumvent.

The origin of story ideas is a key factor in news policy and literature on The Star suggests that it is overwhelmingly an "editors' paper" and that a large majority of the stories would

be assigned by editors rather than generated by reporters. But as already seen, beat reporters are perceived by the staff as being largely self-assigning and, while respondents tend to agree that story ideas originate with editors, they agree almost as strongly that story ideas originate with reporters too.

A great deal of The Star's news copy is written by reporters in its bureaux. The large suburban areas, city hall, the courts and the provincial and federal government are a regular source of many stories. Bureau reporters rarely make an appearance at The Star's main office and are in contact by telephone both for dialogue and for filing their stories by remote computer terminals. Theoretically the isolation of these reporters would be a mechanism for bypassing policy, but the survey did not support this aspect of the hypothesis. Respondents are divided on whether bureau staff members have little contact with head office and tend to agree that they are directed from head office when policy stories are involved.

Some of the mechanisms cited by Breed for bypassing policy also received little support from respondents, although, for these answers, there may be an explanation. Suggestions that reporters control assignments by withholding information from editors, "plant" stories with competing news organizations and are reassigned over policy disagreements, received little support. But the idea of withholding information from one's own organization and giving away information to competitors is a repulsive thought to most modern-day journalists. It may be

expecting too much to ask Star staffers to admit that it happens. Actually, the support both suggestions received is somewhat surprisingly high to the researcher. Withholding and leaking information was likely higher when Breed did his research in the 1940s, but it apparently has not entirely disappeared today.

Likewise, it is not surprising that there is weak support for the statement that staffers are assigned to different jobs over disagreements about news policy. Although there are a few cases on record of this happening, they are rare. Staffers are reassigned frequently, of course, including editors at the top of the newsroom hierarchy, but the reasons for the transfers are usually multi-faceted. Policy disagreements may be a factor in some reassignments, but it is not surprising that this factor would not be publicly stipulated as the sole reason or even a consideration in staff moves.

Respondents' answers to questions related to Hypothesis Three, therefore, are somewhat mixed. But it is contended that the data supporting the hypothesis are so strong that it outweighs data that do not support the hypothesis.

TABLE SEVENTEEN

QUESTION	MEAN
	(8 = "Strongly agree") (1 = "Strongly disagree")
Guidelines about news policy are not rigid.	5.3
The news policy changes frequently.	4.4
	(8 = "Very often") (1 = "Never")
Beat reporters are self-assigning.	6.1
Reporters complain when they disagree with the way their copy is re-written.	6.0
Story ideas originate with editors.	5.8
Bureau staff members are directed from head office when policy stories are involved.	5.5
I have objected to superiors when I disagreed with story topics, angles, editing or placement.	5.2
Story ideas originate with reporters.	5.2
Reporters who have attained "star" status are able to write stories that do not conform to policy.	5.3
Bureau staff members have little contact with head office.	4.8
Reporters control assignments by not telling editors about information gathered from news sources.	3.9
<u>Star</u> staffers are assigned to different jobs over disagreements about news policy.	3.6
Reporters "plant" stories with reporters from competing news organizations.	2.4

Comments to the open-ended questions strongly support the hypothesis. Respondents raised key factors in mechanisms to bypass policy, such the effect a competitive situation has in preventing anti-policy stories from being ignored and that the very size of The Star makes tight control of stories difficult. A

common theme is that when forced to write policy stories, reporters can include anti-policy information by using it lower in the story.

---

TABLE EIGHTEEN

"Smaller papers have a single chain of command. The Star rotates jobs and believes in committee decision-making. Consequently, no one takes responsibility and reporters never know who did what and why."

"I try to figure out how to beat the system. I often do."

"[Name of senior editor] will tell us what to say in a story. I ignore it."

"[Guidelines] change with the unpredictable moods of the newsroom and its people big and small."

"It's very rare, but sometimes [I write a story differently than I feel it ought to be written.] For example, when The Star was being so vitriolic about [a certain policy issue] I'd lead with a punchy [pro-policy angle] then pack a lot of [anti-policy] stuff in the rest of the story. That sort of thing to get the story used."

"Competition among papers here produces pressures most Canadian papers don't have to consider."

"When an editor knows for sure  $A+B=D$  and can't be swayed despite the facts, it is often easier to go along with him and put the 'real' info in the story a few paragraphs down."

"[They prefer that I do not originate story ideas] I think because I would pursue stories in conflict with news policy. If I wrote about crime or drugs or roads, they'd welcome me more."

"News policy can and does change. Deciding the types of assignments given to reporters isn't based solely on who conforms to policy. Most often a reporter with good reporting and writing skills who pursues his craft honestly gets the best jobs. ..."

"The Star does not have a coherent, broad news policy that drives the paper. It has a policy on major issues like free trade but on most daily issues, it's schizophrenic and often contradicts itself."

---



(v) HYPOTHESIS FIVE

STAFFERS ARE ABLE TO WORK IN GOOD CONSCIENCE AT A NEWSPAPER INFLUENCED BY NEWS POLICY.

The hypothesis is supported by the survey results. Although staffers believe the paper has a news policy, as discussed under Hypothesis One, they as individuals strongly believe they do their best to be objective when writing or editing stories. Setting aside the problems with the word "objective" and the "motherhood" factor in the answer, the respondents' strong agreement that they try to be objective when writing or editing news stories can fairly be said to indicate most perceive themselves to be striving for fairness. This, combined with a tendency to disagree that they have reported or edited stories differently than they felt they ought to have been reported or edited, provides support for the hypothesis that Star staffers are able to justify to themselves their role at a paper influenced by news policy. A neutral response to the statement that conditions at the paper keep staffers from reaching their ideals as journalist does little to support the hypothesis but counteracts indications in the literature that the response to such a statement would be overwhelming agreement.

The survey suggests some reasons why staffers are able to work in good conscience under a news policy. Respondents tend to disagree that there is nothing wrong with news policy affecting the content of the news columns. This, if one assumes most people

would not continue to do something they think is "wrong," indicates staffers do not think what they personally put in the news columns is influenced by policy. Another reason indicated why staffers are able to live under the news policy is that they tend to agree with the policy.

---

TABLE NINETEEN

QUESTION	MEAN
	(8 = "Strongly agree")
	(1 = "Strongly disagree")
I do my best to be objective when writing or editing news stories.	7.1
Conditions at <u>The Star</u> prevent me from reaching my ideals as a journalist.	4.6
There is nothing wrong with <u>The Star's</u> news policy affecting contents of the news columns.	3.7
	(8 = "Very often")
	(1 = "Never")
I agree with the content of <u>The Star's</u> news policy.	5.1
I agree with the editorial position <u>The Star</u> takes on various issues.	5.0
I have reported/edited a story differently than I feel it ought to have been reported or edited.	3.1

---

Another indication that staffers are able to justify working under the news policy because they are comfortable with that policy was the response to questions about political philosophies of respondents and their perception of the paper's political philosophy. It is clear that virtually all the respondents view themselves as centrist or leftist and that they view the paper as centrist or leftist.

TABLE TWENTY

What political philosophy is generally given favorable treatment by The Star's news policy?

Value label	Frequency %	Valid %
Far left	0	0
Left	33	32
Centrist	57	55
Right	9	9
Other	1	1
No answer	3	
	-----	-----
	103	100

What is your personal political philosophy?

Value label	Frequency %	Valid %
Far left	1	1
Left	39	39
Centrist	53	52
Right	7	7
Other	1	1
No answer	2	
	-----	-----
	103	100

Combining the two charts of Table Twenty, as illustrated by Table Twenty-One, indicates that most leftists think the paper is centrist and most centrists think the paper is centrist. Most of the remainder, about one-third of both leftists and centrists, view the paper's philosophy as leftist.

TABLE TWENTY-ONE

Personal political philosophy		Far left	Left	Centrist	Right	Other
Star's political philosophy	Far left	0	0	0	0	0
	Left	0	14	16	3	0
	Centrist	1	20	32	4	0
	Right	4	5	0	0	0
	Other	0	0	0	0	1

Comments to the open-ended questions strongly back the hypothesis and reflect emotion and a depth of feeling about staffers' perceptions of their own role at the newspaper not possible in the quantitative section of the questionnaire.

A central theme of the comments is that while there may be a news policy, respondents, as individuals, feel either they are able to operate with integrity or that following the policy is inevitable, so why fight it? The large number of spontaneous comments by respondents striving to explain their feelings about their role, and the thoughtfulness of those comments, provide strong support for the hypothesis.

The comments on the questionnaire are similar to those cited by Breed during his survey. He summarized the attitudes as "keep on the job but blunt the sharp corners of policy ('if I weren't here the next guy would let all that crap go through ...') and "attempt to repress the conflict amorally and anti-intellectually

('What the hell, it's only a job; take your pay and forget it ...')."10 One of the main compensations for all staffers, Breed said, is simply to find justification in adhering to "good news practice,"11 and that justification was made several times in the survey at The Star. "It is true this paper takes a strong interest in a number of topics," one staffer wrote, "but how it wants pieces on these topics written, if indeed it does want them written or played down in a specific way -- I don't know and I don't want to know." The implication in this and other answers is that "sure there is a policy, sure I am aware of it, and sure others here go along with it -- but I don't. I just do my job the best I can and if 'they' want to distort the news that's their decision, but at least I can sleep at night."

---

TABLE TWENTY-TWO

"[Do I ever write a story differently than I think it ought to be written?] Never. My own integrity is sacrosanct. The moment you start writing for the desk or the front office (if you perceive it as having an influence on the newsroom), you lose the spark of individuality that gives the job its pleasure. I never want to think of myself as someone who bolts automobile bodies to chassis."

"[I never edit stories in a way I don't think they ought to be edited.] It is dishonest to do otherwise and a disservice to those who report the news with care and concern for the facts and those who read it."

"I have never been compromised in this way [by editing a story differently than I feel it ought to be edited.]

"It is true this paper takes a strong interest in a number of topics ... but how it wants pieces on these topics written, if indeed it does want them written or played in a certain way -- I don't know and I don't want to know."

"My job is to get the news and try my best to get stories into the paper. I haven't time to think about policy. If there's a story worth writing, we do it."

"The managing editor has a large say in what goes on the front page and in selecting the top 25 stories. We run 100 or more stories a day, so each editor still has significant input."

"In the business section, the news dictates the coverage. The editors rely largely on the reporters' ideas and execution. The only policy is to make the news readable bearing in mind the general readership/mass market audience of The Star."

"I have seldom been directed (or redirected) in a way I found objectionable."

"I have accepted and written from a point of view I don't feel comfortable about but also find myself unable to mount a solid argument against that point of view."

"[I sometimes write a story differently than I feel it ought to be written] to attract the attention of the news desk, not to conform with any of the paper's biases."

"I do my best by writing what I think should appear; if editors want to disagree, fine."

"If ordered, I will rejig a story. Otherwise, I treat them all according to my sense of news."

"I write what I believe to be newsworthy and fair and accurate. From then on it's up to editors. My reputation is important to me."

"Actually, I find a lot of freedom in writing stories as I see them. And I have never experienced a situation where the emphasis on accuracy was sacrificed to play up an angle or slant a story."

"I have never had an experience where I felt I had to compromise what I thought was the right way to report or edit a story because of 'news policy'."

"I write stories the way I feel they should be written -- not how I feel The Star wants them written."

"I write/edit as I see it. If it gets changed once it's out of my hands, that's too bad for me but, ultimately, there's not much I can do about it."

"I believe it, I write it. Simple. The Star is idiosyncratic. But you can adhere to your principles."

"They may be expected to [write or edit stories to conform to news policy] but thank goodness for all concerned they don't. ... It is a sad state of affairs. But the real tragedy is all the people who care and work hard anyway, busting their buns and

getting ulcers to beat the system and get some truth across. ... Going to work, despite all this, is seldom a chore. There are victories, friends, supportive and kind people at most levels. Together, we prevent the dinosaur from becoming a dragon."

---

(vi) HYPOTHESIS SIX

STAFFERS WANT MORE CONSULTATION WITH SENIOR EDITORS AND MANAGEMENT.

The final hypothesis, not part of Breed's study but added for this work after a review of literature on the topic in sociology, business management, journalism and The Star, was strongly supported. This support raises the possibility that improved internal communication would help counteract the effects of a news policy that may not be fully understood or is frequently misinterpreted, and boost morale as well.

Staffers indicated they tend to agree they have little say in the editorial content of the paper. They strongly support the idea of more give and take between editors and reporters and that managers should consult staffers more on decisions that affect news coverage. But staffers agree fairly strongly that the final say in newsroom decision making should remain with management.

TABLE TWENTY-THREE

QUESTION	MEAN
	(8 = "Strongly agree") (1 = "Strongly disagree")
I would like to see more "give and take" between editors and reporters.	6.4
Staffers should be consulted more than at present on decisions that affect news coverage.	6.3
No matter how much staff participation is allowed in newsroom decision-making, the final decision should remain with management.	5.8
I feel I have little say in the final editorial content of the paper.	5.4

Written comments support the hypothesis and the suggestion that more consultation between policy-makers and staffers may be part of a solution to the problems cited in comments to other hypotheses.

TABLE TWENTY-FOUR

"Too much mind-reading expected for my taste. A few frank discussions would do the trick."

"We have little direct contact; no frank contact."

"Major decisions on angles, play etc. are made by senior editors. Reporters are seldom asked for input, unless their expertise is significant. That's the give-and-take I'd like to see."

"I think some of the cliché stuff about The Star is true -- too many middle-management people mucking about in things in order to justify their existence. It ends up with decisions being made by people who don't really know anything about the things they are deciding on. Also, a lot of people nurse hurt feelings and grudges on all levels, making decisions or evading decisions for all the wrong reasons. There is some good team spirit on lower levels in a few small groups but not nearly enough -- just a twig on the redwood. Most people at all levels feel unappreciated and put upon at The Star. This leads to appalling



decision-making and even more people's feelings being hurt. A vicious cycle indeed. It is basically a fine newspaper with an enormously talented staff -- to bad it isn't run so we pull together with satisfaction and consideration for each other instead of paranoia about what Mr. Honderich might say."

"... I'm not going to sign this [five-and-a-half typewritten pages of comments]. Until the management learns to form supportive lines of communication from the top to the bottom, I, like everyone else, am going to spend 50 per cent of my time covering my ass."

-----

#### (vii) ADDITIONAL FACTORS

Although the original research for this project is provided by the mailed questionnaire responses, it is necessary, in order to gain a more complete picture of influences on decision-making at The Toronto Star, to include some additional information not gathered through the questionnaire. The information fills in some gaps left by the mailed questionnaire method of gathering data. Some is simply an expression of fact while other information could not be gathered by the mailed questionnaire method or was a victim of efforts to keep the length of the questionnaire within reason.

#### (a) Organizational influence on conformity to policy

The literature contains reports of several studies that show organizational constraints within news organizations influence news content. The degree of influence this factor has at The Star is difficult to determine in a mailed questionnaire, but a discussion of the news flow process may help complete the picture of influences on decision-making.

The newsroom at The Star is organized, like any other

newspaper newsroom, to get the news, package it and publish it. It is a massive co-ordination project at a large newspaper with more than 100 pages a day. Stories come from literally dozens of directions and are assembled and printed 24 hours a day and seven days a week.

The organizational requirements to co-ordinate this massive effort perpetuate the social control process beyond what Breed envisioned in his work. Breed's concentration on the narrow conflict between staff and management gives short shrift to the organizational constraints on deviant behavior.

The organizational set-up provides plenty of opportunity for policy to be injected into the process. Stories are conceived, information gathered and written and submitted. From that point, the organization takes over the process, leaving little time for low-level and middle-level reporters and editors on the firing line and facing a series of deadlines to engage in philosophic discussion about the nature of each story and how it fits into their concept of journalism and society.

Meanwhile, there is plenty of time for policy to be invoked within the organization. The Star keeps long- and short-range planning lists for future stories which are circulated among high-level editors and managers regularly and discussed at planning meetings. Each day a detailed schedule, or "sked" of stories for the next day's paper is continuously maintained. Reporters are required to provide, as soon as possible, a one sentence summary, usually the lead, of what they intend to write,

for the story schedule. Often, the summary, or "sked line" is written when the story is assigned and before it is written. The available and potential stories are discussed at a meeting at 5 p.m. when senior editors tell middle-level editors what stories to use and where to use them and make suggestions about angles to play up or down. When that meeting ends the "production shift" goes into gear, rushing towards a 10:30 p.m. deadline for the first edition. During the evening, reporters are finishing their stories and going home.

The first edition is on the street at midnight and work has already begun on the next edition that is on the street at dawn, followed by a later edition in the morning and a final edition at noon. By the time the reporters come into work the next morning, three editions have been published. The middle and low-level editors working through the evening and over night have their hands full readying the stories decided on at the 5 p.m. meeting. Only late-breaking stories escape the pre-planning network. Those stories are usually about crime, accidents, disasters etc. and not likely to involve policy issues.

The Saturday and Sunday papers are even more pre-planned, with only a small news hole left for breaking stories by the time the "production shift" starts Friday and Saturday evenings.

The process is ripe for the "groupthink" mentality discussed earlier as a form of social control. The newsroom hierarchy at The Star and most other newspapers is a perfect structure for groupthink to thrive. When the crunch comes at deadline time, the

entire organization necessarily relies on its belief that its members possess that elusive gift of "good news judgment" and apply it to the stories at hand. Consideration of the factors that went into formation of that judgment and consideration of how the stories at hand were assigned and written in the first place are set aside.

There is little time during the normal working day for brainstorming, critical evaluation or consultation between senior editors and junior-level editors and reporters, and even if time could be found, there is no mechanism for doing so. When the reporter gets back from his assignment, the person who handed out the assignment has often gone home and replaced by someone who just wants to know where the story is. The news desk has been promised the story and has space reserved for it, so the reporters had better get writing. Low-level editors may question facts and spelling, and add or delete material to make the story fair and complete as possible, but unless it is hopelessly flawed, there are few arguments strong enough to keep it out of the paper once the "production shift" starts.

This tight-knit system geared to getting the paper out forms a large membership group with a common goal and members of the group are necessarily united in that goal. There is no time to raise questions or express concerns because this might mean missing the deadline. Within the large group there are subgroups, of course, but each of those groups has goals related to their role within the large group. Reporters, as a group, try to get

good stories. Lower-level editors try to improve them. Middle-level editors try to get them in the paper. The goals of the upper-level editors' and managers' reference group are obviously geared toward the news policy, since it sets and enforces policy.

(b) Hiring and firing

Newspaper policy largely "stems from considerations of class,"<sup>12</sup> Breed said, but The Star deviates from this generalization and appears comparable with The York Gazette, which Breed presented in his Thesis as a rare example of a paper run by a liberal owner whose staff Breed found to be comfortable working with a news policy.<sup>13</sup> Breed was writing in the McCarthy era after World War II and a large part of his theory was based on the contention that newspapers are generally owned by Republicans (that is, conservatives) and written by Democrats (that is, liberals), which is a main reason for the conflict between publishers and staff. He found the small paper in York, Pennsylvania such a refreshing change he included it in his Thesis as a separate case study, apparently concluding because the staff and management were all liberals that policy was less of a problem. One suspects he would have found The Toronto Star different than the bulk of papers in his study as well, but because someone agrees with a news policy does not mean it does not have an affect on the news columns, result in the "slanting" of anti-policy news and boosting of sacred cows, as cited by Breed.

The present study found that staffers overwhelmingly agree that The Star is politically leftist or centrist in its news policy and the staff perceives itself as almost exclusively leftist or centrist in personal political philosophies. It seems fair to conclude the staff is generally in tune with the paper's philosophy and over-all political point-of-view, although this is not to say staffers agree with every specific policy position the paper takes. (Interestingly, in the dozens of comments received on the questionnaires, there was not one complaint about The Star's many special projects, like its Fresh Air Fund to send under privileged children to camp, its Santa Claus Fund to buy them Christmas gifts, and the massive support given to the United Way and food banks on the news pages. Many newspapers have similar special projects of their own. The Star has a huge news hole and space given these projects generally does not mean legitimate news is forced out of the paper by these community service campaigns. The staffs of smaller papers with tight news holes might feel differently about their publishers' and editors' "sacred cows.")


Institutional authority and sanctions are reasons given by Breed why staffers conform to policy. While it is true at The Star, as Breed would have predicted, that few people get fired for bucking policy, no direct question was included in the survey on this matter. Obviously, since the people surveyed still work at The Star, none had taken the ultimate step in protesting news policy and quit and not come back. When someone does leave The

Star, voluntarily or involuntarily, it may be for a variety of reasons. The person may claim that he or she is leaving on a matter of principle, but there could be other reasons. Often, the person leaving has another job lined up, for instance.

In reality, the company cannot fire many people anyway and, if it did, it is unlikely disagreement about news policy implementation would be a dismissable offence by itself. Labor laws and union contracts make it extremely difficult to fire employees. The author's experience, confirmed in conversations with senior editors in a position to know, is that in recent memory there have been no employees fired at The Star strictly over news policy.

Nevertheless, The Star's history shows a great deal of upper-level staff movement. The series of managing editors, with the accompanying jockeying of positions below on the hierarchy after each change, cannot help but be an influence on decision-making in the newsroom. And while it cannot be determined in a mailed questionnaire why employees decided to leave voluntarily and the effect this has on the staff, it is reasonable to suggest there is some influence on decision-making in the newsroom.

Recruiting is another field of inquiry not addressed directly in the mailed questionnaire. Theoretically, any company could ensure social control by hiring people in its own image who would be likely to willingly go along with policy. The Star, in fact, may be staffed by people mainly in tune with its policy just as a conservative newspaper may be staffed with journalists



of the same persuasion. It is beyond this study's scope to examine this relationship in detail, but the questionnaire did determine that respondents' political philosophies closely parallel what the respondents perceive to be The Star's political philosophy. Again the author's experience, confirmed by senior editors, is that except for a small number of specialty writers requiring specific expertise, The Star recruits very few staffers at any level. All current top managers and senior editors rose through the ranks and lower-level employees almost all came to The Star looking for a job. Also, it is doubtful that decisions not to hire applicants are based on news policy agreement, since there is no formal method to determine the applicants' philosophies.

(c) Financial incentives to conform

Another unsurveyed factor that should be mentioned in the socialization process is that, in addition to evidence gathered that staffers like being journalists, enjoy working at The Star for the most part and are fairly satisfied with their salaries, there are financial schemes that may add to social conformity or, at least, create the impression that staffers are financially rewarded for conforming.

For one, staffers are allowed to own part of their company through an attractive payroll deduction scheme that permits employees to, in effect, borrow money at low interest rates from The Star to buy non-voting Star shares. In addition to the

1780 c



financial rewards of this scheme -- which are dependent on the ups and down of the stock market as well as the company's performance -- there is the effect of giving employees a stake in their own company.

Another financial factor is The Star's merit pay scheme. According to information The Star was required to provide to the Southern Ontario Newspaper Guild during bargaining for the company-union 1987 collective agreement,<sup>14</sup> a significant number of non-management employees receive extra pay, based on "merit" as defined by management.

In Group 1, the top pay group, 17 of 18 employees received merit pay ranging from \$25 a week to \$498.89 above the union scale. In Group 1A, 6 of 10 received merit pay; Group 2, 40 of 48; Group 2A (copy editors) 10 of 58; Group 3 (reporters, photographers) 97 of 185.

In addition, individuals are sometimes rewarded with one-time financial bonuses for what management considers a job well done on specific stories or projects. A typical bonus is \$100.

It is difficult to assess the over-all effect of the stock purchase plan, merit pay and bonus traditions. But it is reasonable to suggest that those who benefit are likely more influenced towards conformity to company policy than those who don't get in on the stock purchase or have been judged not to merit extra pay or bonuses, and that the schemes play a role in newsroom decision-making. It would be difficult to prove that the financial incentives influence conformity, but the fact that they

exist creates the impression that The Star makes it financially worthwhile to conform to news policy and avoid deviant behavior.

(viii) Miscellaneous comments by respondents

In the wealth of information received in the open-ended section of the mailed questionnaire were a few comments that do not fit under any hypothesis but, nevertheless, add to information gathered on social influences on newsroom decision-making. These issues include a lack of sensitivity on behalf of managers when dealing with staff; concerns about sexism and the contention that women do not receive fair treatment; and reference to the often-whispered by rarely-expressed feeling that Britain is over-represented as a country of origin of senior editors at The Star.

These issues are serious and necessary to mention in the context of discussions about influences on newsroom decision-making. They are not presented frivolously just because they did not form part of the main hypotheses.

The theme of managers' insensitivity runs through the comments cited for several hypotheses and forms a part of complaints about failures in communication and lack of consultation between senior editors and staff.

The concern that women are discriminated against is real and growing, not only at The Star, but in society as a whole. This concern is important to this discussion both because of the effect on management practices within The Star and because of the

effect on news coverage where "women's issues" are concerned.

The ethnic make-up of key decision-makers at The Star is an important factor in decision-making about the news when it is considered that the growth in Metro Toronto's population -- and therefore the potential readers The Star is fighting for with The Sun and its other competition -- is mainly due to immigrants from many countries other than Britain.

---

TABLE TWENTY-FIVE

"[Besides conforming to news policy to get promoted,] you also need a complete inability to deal sensitively with staff."

"Decision-making processes are almost exclusively dictated by the males. Women in the newsroom have almost no input."

"[I have been] bluntly told by senior editors that feminist reporters try to force their political opinions on The Star through slanted writing."

"[Staffers who attain 'star' status very often can write stories that do not conform too policy] although with the leather mini-skirt school of employee advancement in use at The Star, one occasionally questions this status."

"Too many Brit editors spoil a good story. Readers don't need or like being hit on the head with sensationalist approaches or distortions. People from the United Kingdom have made major advances in civilization, perhaps more than any other [nation]. Their two outstanding failures are cooking and newspapering. Neither should be imitated."

---

(ix) Publisher's comments

Publisher Beland Honderich consented to an interview for this project and his comments provide useful additional information on influences on decision-making in the newsroom.<sup>15</sup> He was given a copy of the questionnaire and a summary of the over-all results when he agreed to the interview, but because

there was little advance notice of the interview he did not have time to read either before the interview.

During some verbal jousting over what is meant by "news policy" he provided some interesting insights from the point-of-view of the key policy-maker. He said, for instance, that he would like reporters and editors to take news judgment cues from the editorial page in regard to only the subject matter of news stories and that the editorials' points-of-view should not influence the content of news stories.

His statements support indications in the literature and the questionnaire results that the amount of space accorded a subject, headlines and story placement are key areas where news policy manifests itself in the paper. He insists that all sides of policy stories are presented in The Star, but makes no apology for giving more space and prominent placement to what this study calls "policy stories," and what he terms subject matters in which he and the paper are interested in, because they are important and form a part of the paper's liberal point-of-view.

Honderich expressed the hope that second-guessing by editors wasn't a problem in his newsroom and that if it is, that it would be lessened. Honderich made a point of saying that second-guessing could result from editors not being willing to take responsibility for their decisions and instead blaming them on the publisher.

The interview for this project was one of the last times Honderich would speak as publisher of The Toronto Star. Less than

a week later, Aug. 31, 1988, he announced his retirement as publisher and that David Jolley, president of The Star's parent company, Torstar, and previously mostly concerned with the business side of the company, would replace him as publisher and share Torstar chief executive officer duties with David Galloway, who heads the Harlequin Enterprises.<sup>16</sup>

Because interviews with Honderich are rare, and in the interest of presenting all sides of the issue of news policy and its enforcement, relevant edited excerpts of the interview are presented here:

The interview started with an explanation by the author of what is meant by news policy in this study.


Beland H. Honderich: Doesn't every paper have a point-of-view?

Joe Fox: Well, a specific example of a news policy might be, for instance, the backing a political party.

BHH: I have trouble with that. If you read the history of The Star there is nothing secret about The Star's point-of-view. Mr. Atkinson set out to publish a paper for the people, from the point of view of -- what shall I say -- he called them the 'little people' at that time -- the interest of people who haven't got anyone to speak for them. This is The Star's broad point-of-view and this has gone on for a number of years. Now, you call this news policy. I think our obligation on news is to report the news fairly and accurately. I think what editors decide is what is important and what is less important and so forth.

JF: What about the danger of the news policy, or point-of-view or editorial position, spilling over and influencing the news coverage? The Star's editorial handbook says to look on the editorial page for policy positions.

BHH: For the subjects we consider important. The word subjects is very important. But the subject matter should be discussed as fairly and accurately as possible. [Citing a current news story about a Conservative cabinet minister alleging corruption within the Conservative government, Honderich noted that The Globe and Mail ran the story inside the paper and The Star ran it on Page One.] "That is something that our editors looked at and said,



'this is important and should be on the front page' and The Globe's editors said, 'this is not important' and put it inside. That's not news policy. That gets down to news judgment by editors.

JF: I guess that is what I am getting at: how people learn news judgment, both reporters and editors. Are those news judgments somehow influenced by the paper's news policy? The Star has a policy to do stories with the little guy in mind. This obviously affects an editor's decision.

BHH: An editor looks at a story and says, 'how is this going to affect people?' The Globe takes a business point of view. We try to take a people point of view.

JF: Doesn't that fit in with what I am saying? Obviously a paper's general philosophy of the news is transmitted to the staff.

BHH: How is it transmitted to the staff?

JF: When an editor makes a decision to put a story on Page One, what does he base that decision on?

BHH: His understanding of the subject. The Star has this fundamental policy where we are concerned how things affect people. For instance we're concerned about housing. A lot of people have housing problems so we think housing is an important subject. We think free trade has great implications for Canada as an independent nation. That's a subject that gets a lot of attention. The Star's approach is how people are affected by what's happening and what's not happening.

JF: Let's take free trade as an example. You said subject matters of editorials should be discussed fairly and accurately on the news pages. Do you think The Star's news coverage of the free trade debate has been fair and accurate?

BHH: As far as I am aware, yes, except some headings have been bloody awful. But I think it is perfectly legitimate to raise considerations about free trade and I think we have done that and I think we have contributed to the debate.

JF: My observation is that our coverage has been more negative than positive.

BHH: That's a generalization. You would have to ask yourself whether we have reported fairly the argument for free trade and I think we have. But I've never believed in equal space. I think you look at the subject matter and if you see a problem with something, you raise it.

JF: That is what I mean by a newspaper's point of view influencing editors in their decision-making about news. Don't you think an editor faced with a free trade story, positive or negative, would be influenced by your concern and the paper's concern about what you see as problems with free trade?

BHH: I would hope he is influenced by my opinion that it is a very important subject.

JF: Not positively or negatively?

BHH: That's right.

JF: Do you think the publisher's office is the appropriate place where the over-all direction for the news coverage should come from? That's what the tradition of this paper has been.

BHH: What do you mean by direction? You see, I don't directly cover the news. I certainly suggest stories. I look at the paper and see things that haven't been done well and bring it to the editors' attention, as well as things that have been done well. I was a reporter here at The Star and I had no problems going out and writing about a subject, from my knowledge and understanding, fairly and accurately. You see, I don't think there is such a thing as objective reporting. Objectivity is a subjective matter. You are really talking about what The Star thinks is important and what The Star thinks is not important. Housing is important. We devote a lot of space to housing.

JF: So you hope that an editor or a reporter -- for instance a reporter choosing a lead for a story about housing or an editor choosing where to place the story -- would make decisions on the basis of that story, not on some preconceived idea.

BHH: I would hope that he would share the view that housing is an important subject.

JF: For a specific story, say where a developer is giving his point of view, are you saying it should stand on its own merits?

BHH: Developers' points of view are reported.

JF: So you hope reporters will act the way you did when you were a reporter. Just go out and try to learn all you can about a subject and write it up fairly and accurately.?

BHH: I think the paper exhibits its values by the placement of stories. Using housing as an example, a lot of people in this city can't find decent accommodation. Now, should the paper be concerned about it? Is this what you are asking? I say it should be.

JF: Well, as I understand it, you are saying again that news policy should only apply to the subject matter.

BHH: Yes.

JF: What about in areas where there is no traditional policy or areas you haven't specified as being important? Do editors fill in these areas? Someone has to create guidelines for coverage. Do editors then set what I have been calling "policy?"

BHH: Yes, within the broad framework of the kind of newspaper we want to publish.

JF: What determines that framework?

BHH: Your value system. If you're a liberal paper, you're interested in fairness and equity. You're opposed to interference with individual rights and freedoms. You're against discrimination and oppression, those kinds of things. That's the broad framework I'm talking about.

JF: Do you find yourself intervening very often to veto some policy or direction The Star's taking that is not within that framework, or do most of the editors know the framework pretty well?

BHH: I would hope they would deny that. I would hope they go by their point of view of society and that it is of a progressive society that can improve the lot of people.

JF: So you don't often have to stop coverage in a certain area or have it emphasized in a certain area.

BHH: No, I don't.

JF: I know from reading about The Star that you used to go in the newsroom a lot and say 'Let's do this and that'. You don't seem to do that any more.

BHH: You see, we don't have an editor-in-chief at the moment. Traditionally the editor-in-chief would do that. And Marty Goodman's death several years ago disrupted that. Now, I meet with the editors Monday-mornings and we talk about things we should be doing and debate them.

JF: One of the hypotheses of my thesis is that a person like yourself does not have to intervene daily to exert your influence, that you set a broad framework and the editors act within it without having be told what to do about each policy or story.



BHH: You decide that you want to publish a liberal paper. That's what Mr. Atkinson decided to do. Then these liberal values should determine everything you do.

JF: I want to make sure I have this straight. You hope that this framework you set down does not mean your point of view is reflected in the news stories. Should the editorial position of the paper influence the news stories?

BHH: No. When we run an editorial it should say to the newsroom: 'This is an important subject. This is something we should be looking at.'

JF: Not to be for it or against it in the news story? Not to go out and look for people to interview who will back the position in the editorial and not to avoid interviewing people who don't back it?

BHH: That's right.

JF: When the first edition of the paper comes out, do you phone the editors and suggest changes?

BHH: Not often.

JF: The impression I get from reading about you is that you are on the phone after every edition telling people what to do. Is this impression inaccurate?

BHH: I was very active in the news coverage for many years. I haven't been in recent years.

JF: Do you ever feel you can't win? When you were in the newsroom all the time you were accused of interfering. Now that you're not in the newsroom you're portrayed as aloof and uncaring.

BHH: [Laughs] No, I don't worry about things like that. I am the publisher and responsible for the things we do and when I see something I don't think is appropriate I draw attention to it.

JF: Are you ever surprised by hearing your policies and ideas when they come back to you and they've changed considerably.

BHH: No. I think things change over a period of time. I think that the policies change but the principles don't.

JF: A lot of people who answered my questionnaire seem to think there is a lot of second-guessing going on, that instead of acting on a firm news judgment basis editors try to meet some objectives they aren't really sure about because the directions aren't clear.

BHH: I think second-guessing is bad at any time and any place. Nobody can guess my mind and they're crazy if they try to do so. If there is any confusion, they should certainly go to their superior and get it straightened out. But I do think that there is a tendency sometimes for people not wanting to take the responsibility for their decisions and using that great catch-all, 'well that's what the publisher wants.'

JF: Who do you think reporters and editors should keep in mind when they are doing their job? The reader? Or do they have to keep a bunch of other things in mind, (such as the newsmakers or the paper's corporate view?

BHH: They are writing for the public. They should report the news as fairly and accurately as possible. The reader is number one.

JF: What's worse, having a paper's point of view dictated by some perception of what the public wants to read or by some philosophical or historical point of view like this paper has that says this is what we think is important and this is what you are going to read?

BHH: The newspaper is a business. You have to sell your paper every day. You have a point of view. People buy your paper. They buy it for information. The job clearly is to produce a product that meets the need of our community. The reader is number one.

JF: The Toronto Sun seems to be doing quite well meeting the needs of a lot of people in the community. Do you think The Star should change to compete with it?

BHH: No. I think The Star should continue to do what it has always done, but do it better. What they do, they do it very well. We need to do what we do very well. One thing we could do is edit our stories better. Too many of our stories are too long.

JF: A lot of people who answered my survey said they would like more input in decision-making. Would you be adverse to meeting with a committee of reporters and editors to let them express their views?

BHH: I've gone through that over the years. We did that regularly for a period. I always welcome ideas and suggestions. I'm not sure what you want to achieve by a committee. What would be the purpose?

JF: Maybe advise on editorial positions.

BHH: I'm not involved in the day-to-day determination of editorial positions. The editorial board meets every morning and they decide what they want to say. If a reporter has an idea about what the newspaper should be doing I would hope he would

make a suggestion.

JF: What about the general public? How does the paper determine what the public thinks is important?

BHH: I think that is the job of editors and reporters.

JF: Most of the editors don't get out of the building.

BHH: I don't accept that as an excuse at all. I think one of your jobs as a reporter or editor is to maintain some contacts. You all have friends and neighbors. You know what people are talking about. You know what their concerns are.

JF: What about a committee of a cross-section of the community meeting regularly with the senior editors and yourself.

BHH: To do what?

JF: To discuss what they are concerned about and what they think is newsworthy.

BHH: We get letters to the editor, we have hundreds of contacts with the public every day. If our reporters and editors don't know from these contacts what people are interested in we should ask them.

JF: So the onus is on us to go out into the community and find out what people are concerned about rather than have them come to us?

BHH: Yes, but every week there is a regular stream of people from the community coming in here to talk to the editors as well.

JF: If the paper is going to have a news policy, what about some new ideas? The ideas of Mr. Atkinson were radical at the time, but now medicare and things like that are accepted. Have you ever considered adopting some new, radical policies?

BHH: Do you think we're getting conservative?

JF: At one-time we may have been liberal but now maybe we're middle of the road.

BHH: Society may have caught-up with us. But no, I don't think the problems are solved. Take the distribution of national income, it hasn't changed much. For a lot of people today, with their wages, they are not able to buy homes.

JF: You think there is still a need to fight to keep what's been achieved?

BHH: Yes, I do.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Warren Breed, "The Newspaperman, News and Society," (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1952), p. 430. [Hereafter referred to as "Breed, Thesis."]

2. Ibid.

3. Daniel Garvey Jr., "Social Control in the Television Newsroom," (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1971).

4. Breed, p. 165.

5. See, for instance, John Goyder, "Face-to-Face interviews and mailed questionnaires: The net difference in response rates," Public Opinion Quarterly 49:2 (Summer, 1985): 234-252; and Claire Sellitz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Hold, Rinehart and Winston, 1965).

6. Letter to the author from Ray Timson, Executive Editor, The Toronto Star, dated June 10, 1988.

7. Names for the questionnaire mailing list obtained from the Southern Ontario Newspaper Guild were not divided by division. Therefore the number of people in each division who were mailed questionnaires was obtained later from staff rosters.

8. Unfortunately, it is not known what percentage of potential respondents were contained in each demographic variable (age, education, length of time at The Star etc.) because the Guild mailing list does not break down the union membership into such categories.

9. Norusis, Marija J., SPSS/PC +V2.0 Base Manual (Chicago: SPSS Inc., 1988.)

10. Warren Breed, "Social control in the newsroom," in Mass Communications, ed. Wilbur Schramm. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1960, p. 193. [Hereafter referred to as "Breed, Social control."]

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid, p. 179.

13. Breed, Thesis, pp. 366-397.

14. Paul Bilodeau, bargaining committee representative, Southern Ontario Newspaper Guild, memo to editorial department Guild stewards, Feb. 22, 1987.

15. Beland H. Honderich, interview with the author, Aug. 25, 1988.

16. Torstar Corp., press release, Aug. 31, 1988.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 1. Conclusions

This study strongly supports Breed's theories of social control in the newsroom as applied to The Toronto Star and adds additional information to explain the influences on newsroom decision-making.

In summary, it can be concluded this study found that there is a news policy at The Toronto Star; it is primarily formed by the publisher, put into effect by senior editors and affects news coverage; it is learned by the staff through an informal socialization process; it is maintained by norms established by the reference group of newsroom staffers; staffers are sometimes able to bypass the news policy; and staffers are able to work in good conscience at a newspaper strongly influenced by policy. Also, the study found strong support for more consultation of reporters and editors by management and senior editors.

In addition, the study concluded that senior editors very actively create policy in areas where the publisher's policy is missing or not clear, but these policies are formed in anticipation of what the publisher would like them to be.

The hypotheses need some explanations and qualifications, however, if they are to provide an accurate picture of the social influences on decision-making in the newsroom at The Toronto Star.

It appears the social control process is a more complex and more subtle process at The Star than that found by Breed.

Respondents left little doubt they perceive a news policy at work at The Star but, although the publisher is a dominant factor in creating policy, senior editors are seen as an equally strong force in originating policy that affects the day-to-day operation of the newsroom. The senior editors (administrators as opposed to low-level staffers who simply check and polish stories), however, are seen as very conscious of the publisher's veto power and want to avoid policies that will not win approval by him and other superiors. The publisher appears to expect the senior editors to know what he wants to see in the paper, but the perception of the staff is that these editors either do not know in many cases or over-react when they think they do know. The result is the strong perception by the staff that second-guessing by senior editors and those entrusted with enforcing policy is a significant problem in The Toronto Star newsroom.

This problem created by social control at work in enforcing policy when the policy is not clear, is misperceived or is guessed at by policy enforcers was underestimated by Breed, but foreseen by several authors cited in the literature about The Star as well as by Garvey.<sup>1</sup>

In the important area of how news policy affects news coverage, it is concluded that, as Breed found, the "slanting" of the news because of policy seldom means lies. Rather, the policy is manifested by giving pro-policy stories good play in the paper

and anti-policy stories poor play. That is, stories that conform to the paper's point-of-view are given more space and more prominent placement. It is also concluded that policy enforcement can be seen in headlines.

Breed's theory that policy is handed down informally and maintained through social influences is enhanced by the respondents' support for the contention that they like their work and that the rewards/sanction system at work in the newsroom is based on getting good stories to work on and having them prominently displayed, which encourages the writing and editing of stories that conform to policy. This unique value system of journalists, cited by Breed and others in the literature, must be appreciated to understand the strength of the influence the love of the news has over journalists.

But, despite the strong support for the theory that there is a news policy in force, this study also supports Breed's contention that staffers are able to frequently avoid policy restrictions. For this reason, like Breed's theory, this project's hypotheses are admittedly somewhat contradictory and could be viewed as a "can't lose" or a self-fulfilling prophesy about how newsrooms work. It is submitted, however, that it is this built-in contradiction and generalization is the heart of the theory and what makes it supportable.

Journalism and journalists, caught up in a corporate business enterprise that publishes a product encompassing both altruism and commercialism, is a complicated subject. A theory



about how it works is necessarily complex and wide-ranging. A theory without contradictions and generalizations would be difficult to support by anyone knowledgeable about the real world of the journalist. That world is characterised by contradictions and loose, generalized professional standards that allow Journalists to remain "professionals" who are true to the news and the public trust, and, at the same time, "craftsmen" loyal to their employer and obedient to immediate superiors.

For this reason, it is submitted that ~~it~~ is valid to say that although there is a news policy and it is enforced, journalists can get around the policy often enough, or blunt its edges enough, to stay in their profession/craft and at their jobs at The Star. Of 40 reporters asked by Breed why newspaper people are thought to cynic, only two blamed it on enforcement of news policy. Respondents to this survey also clearly find ways to get around news policy or operate within it. This, in turn, leads to the generalization that sometimes says, in effect, "the theory is valid because it works and it works, because it is valid." For instance, if the theory is true and the news policy is successfully enforced through subtle socialization, then there is no necessity for the publisher to come into the newsroom with a whip and make writers and editors do stories he wants in certain

policy areas. Thus, respondents to the questionnaire for this study say that the publisher is a dominant policy-setting force at The Star, but when asked who they think about when they write their stories, list the publisher near the bottom of a list of eight audiences. One answer for this and other contradictions in the findings is that because the policy is so well ingrained in the staff they do not realize they are affected by it. Another explanation is that the staff is aware of the publisher's unseen pressure but justify their role in their own mind by determining to do the best job they can despite pressure from the publisher via the various editors trying to interpret and implement the publisher's wishes and their own policies. A third answer, for some at least, is that they generally find no strong disagreement with the policies of the publishers and editors and are happy to go along with it. All three answers are probably correct in varying degrees with different staffers at different times, especially when it is realized that only a small percentage of the total number of stories in the paper are dominated by strict policy enforcement, leaving plenty of other stories to work on. All these factors come into play, which is why a theory of newsroom interaction must be broad, complex and flexible.

This study's data supporting the contention that staffers are able to get around policy and operate within its guidelines supports a decision made early in the research to substitute

Breed's term of "social control" with "social influences" in the title of the Thesis and when dealing with respondents. "Control" implies staffers are on strong leashes and guided at all times by policy strictures. This study's finding fit in more with the notion of staffers being influenced to conform to policy, leaving more room for deviance than implied by the term "control."

The support from the respondents to suggestions in the questionnaire that they find ways to bypass policy softens the strong impression left by literature about The Star -- largely written by, or quoting, bitter ex-Star employees -- that the paper is gripped by ironclad rules handed down by a tyrannical publisher and enforced by sycophantic editors, making it an almost unbearable place to work or achieve journalistic ideals. There is a policy to be sure and editors have problems articulating it, interpreting it and enforcing it, but, on the whole, The Star staff seems to be finding ways to cope and is relatively happy.

This is not to say the paper is without problems. There are indications the news is distorted by the results of social influences on decision-making in the newsroom that enforce the policies of the publisher and various senior editors. But the situation is not as desperate or as hopeless as the impression created by what has been written about The Star in the past, generally without asking many people who work there what they think. And conditions may have changed since many of those critiques were written.

What can be done? In Beyond the Front Page discussed earlier,<sup>2</sup> where sociologist Chris Argyris described his experience trying to help improve a large San Francisco paper's internal strife, he found a discouraging feeling of hopelessness. "Not you or anyone else will ever change this place," was a prediction I heard often," Argyris wrote.<sup>3</sup> Staffers offered to bet him money on it. "It is doubtful that a newspaper or any organization can develop effective self-examination processes if its personnel hold these pessimistic attitudes about change," he wrote.

The attitudes of Star staffers toward an organized effort to change things will not be known until an attempt is made, but there is nothing in this study to indicate that Star staffers are so jaded and cynical that change is impossible. There is no evidence from the survey results to back up ex-Star staffer Walter Stewart's contention that "The Star is not a happy place to work and no one can remember when it ever was."<sup>4</sup> and that "all" of the "superior" Star editors and "talented" reporters come to work every day to put out a product they "hold in contempt."<sup>5</sup> It may be that Star staffers' defence mechanisms are so well developed that they hid these attitudes on the survey for this project, but the survey did not produce feelings as strong as Stewart reported. There is certainly some dissatisfaction among Star staffers indicated by respondents, some of which may be due to news policy and its effect on fair coverage and some of it may be due to other reasons, but there is not the level of

hostility and contempt implied by some critics cited in the literature.

Perhaps the respondents' strong support for the suggestion that Star staffers want to be consulted more in newsroom decision-making is a workable first step towards improving The Star as a place to work and as a newspaper to read.

Ted Joseph, who has done considerable research in Canadian and U.S. papers on reporter involvement in decision-making, concluded that one reason for the high level of dissatisfaction in newsrooms is the "historical hierarchial environment where management controls most reporter decision-making. One solution to this problem is increased decentralization through reporter participation in decision making ...." He stressed that the autocratic approach is often necessary during the hectic hours of the newsroom, "but it is a system, which, if used always, debilitates most individuals ..."<sup>6</sup>

"Debilitated" may be an appropriate word to describe the staffers whose answers to the questionnaire are less severe than predicted by the literature but nevertheless contain a strain of frustration and dissatisfaction. They want to be consulted but do not want to run to the paper, as indicated by support for the statement that final decision-making should remain with management.

Reporters are the creative people on newspaper staffs and the ones who are out in the community. It seems to make sense to consult them more when decisions are made about what to cover and

how to cover it. As sociologist Paul Goodman wrote about businesses in general: "We certainly have at present the dismal situation that the most imaginative men are directed by a group, the top managers, who are among the least [imaginative], hard-working though they may be."<sup>7</sup>

## 2. Implications of the study

Respondents' answers to the questionnaire, the results of which are summarized in the preceding chapter; the conclusions summarized above; the interview with the publisher detailed in Chapter V; and the literature review at the beginning of this project; combine to give this study clear implications for a number of people who may read it.

### (1) Implication for readers of The Star (and other newspapers).

Newspaper stories are not dictated strictly by events. Some news stories may be influenced by the paper's news policy. This likely means some stories have been given more prominence than they deserve, both in length and position in the paper. The headline may be a distortion of the story as a whole and the first few paragraphs may not contain a fair representation of the entire story.

Readers should be on the alert for newspapers' policies and take them into consideration when reading. If you just read headlines, or the first few paragraphs, or just the front page, you may get a distorted view of what is happening. Probably the

only way to get a complete picture of what is going on is to read several different papers and tune in several news broadcasts. All news outlets have their own policies, but they vary and if you consult enough of them you may be able to get a well-rounded view of the world.

(ii) Implications for journalists at The Star (and other papers).

There is agreement among respondents that you work at a newspaper influenced by a news policy. If you write or edit stories that are affected by the policy, you will likely be affected, whether you realize it at the time or not. You may find yourself a victim of second-guessing by editors about policy issues. If you are confused by directions or unclear what you are expected to write or how to edit a story, the publisher's suggestion is to consult a superior for specific directions.

(iii) Implications for management at The Toronto Star (and, perhaps, other papers.)

The results of the survey provide some data that should be of concern to Star management.

-- 49 of 103 staffers "strongly agree" they enjoy being a journalist, but only 18 of 103 "strongly agree" they like working at The Star and only 8 "strongly agree" they are proud of The Star's editorial product.

-- 54% of the staff who responded tend to disagree that morale is high at The Star.

-- 58% tend to agree that conditions at The Star prevent them from reaching their ideals as journalists. Fifteen people said they "strongly agree" with that statement.

--20% tend to disagree that they are paid fairly.

-- Star staffers are told to read the editorial page for suggestions about subject matter that is important for news stories, but only 29 respondents said they read the editorial page "very often." 38% said they tend not to read the editorial page.

-- 47 respondents have never met the publisher.

-- 23% tend to think that reporters control assignments by not telling editors about information gathered from news sources.

#### (iv) Implications for academics

Some aspects of a topic like influences on newsroom decision-making can be measured, and a mailed questionnaire can be useful for gathering such data. Also, it appears factors such as social influences and organizational news policies on reporters and editors still affect news coverage as outlined by Breed. Researchers into the effects of newsmakers and audiences on news coverage may take note that news organizations' policy influences remain a significant factor.



### 3. Recommendations

Journalists dissatisfied with the way the news columns of The Toronto Star or any other newspaper are influenced by news policy can: (a) quit and go into another line of work or try to find a newspaper more to their liking; or, (b) stay and complain. But surely there are more options than giving up or becoming a voice in the wilderness, destined for bitterness and despair in a business that should be full of excitement and self-fulfillment. Neither quitting nor complaining accomplish much toward changing the situation.

Unless you own the place where you work, you can't change the direction of the wind. But you can trim your sails. It is a convenient excuse to blame all you find wrong with your job on the owner. But it is a waste of time. The person running the show is going to do what he or she feels is best for the company and this likely means adopting a policy and promoting managers who will enforce it.

The only real option for the "little guy" is to make changes in his or her own conduct to realize their own ideals within the framework allowed by the owner. One person may not be able to accomplish much alone, but, if a large percentage of people at a newspaper start making decisions about the news with the reader in mind instead of anticipating what the boss may want, the newspaper would be less influenced by policy. It would be foolhardy for the little guy to ignore directions from a superior. Getting fired accomplishes even less than quitting or

complaining. No matter how well you trim your sails, you cannot sail directly into the wind. You will stall. But good sailors can point their craft as close to the teeth of gale as possible and make forward progress.

Research for this project indicates there are relatively few strict policy directives at The Toronto Star compared to the whole content of the newspaper and that part of the problem may be anticipating policy in a much wider area than necessary. This results in the impression that policy is all-encompassing while at the same time vague; and rigid, while at the same time flexible. There appears, therefore, to be room for improving the situation from within at The Star.

This study will avoid preaching to publishers what they should do. They have their own priorities and deal with forces far beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, this report's recommendations will be for journalists at all levels working in newspapers or other news organizations; those planning to become journalists; and those whose who have a scholarly interest. Some of the recommendations apply directly to The Toronto Star but are applicable elsewhere. The recommendations flowing from this study are:

#### 1. PUT THE READER FIRST

All the remaining recommendations relate to this one. When making decisions, think first of what is best for the reader, not yourself or the newspaper or the publisher or your superior or the newsmaker. Consider all of these audiences, but in the

absence of some compelling reason to act differently, the reader's interest, as determined by the only weapon you have-- your best judgment-- should be paramount. "Seen as a client of the press," Warren Breed wrote, "the reader should be entitled to not only an interesting newspaper, but one which furnishes significant news objectively presented."8 (Substitute the word "fairly" here if the term "objectively" bothers you.)

In the interview for this study, Beland Honderich said you would have to be crazy to try to guess his mind. He said he doesn't want people second-guessing him and that his suggestions for topics the paper should be concerned about are just that, topics or subject matter, not opinions to be backed up with positive or negative stories. He said he always kept the reader in mind when he was a reporter and had no trouble writing fair and accurate stories from the readers' perspective. He said he hopes Star reporters today do the same thing. Even though he has retired as publisher, let's take him at his word and write and edit for the reader instead of for him, his replacement David Jolley, senior editors or those hoping to become senior editors, or anyone else besides the reader.

## 2. DON'T LET EDITORIAL POSITIONS INFLUENCE NEWS COVERAGE.

Perhaps at one time it was acceptable to tell reporters and editors to look to the editorial page for guidance about news decisions, but it is a dangerous practice. Even if few staffers pay attention to the directive, it creates an attitude that the paper is to be driven by policy instead of by events. Make it

clear to reporters and editors they should not be influenced by editorials. The next edition of The Toronto Star Editorial Handbook should have sections linking editorial positions and news coverage deleted. Instead, insert that The Star's basic mission of fostering liberalism and social welfare and nationalism etc. will continue but on the editorial page and not at the expense of full, fair coverage of all sides of every debate on the news pages.

Instead of reporters being told to take their ideas from editorial writers, the process should be reversed. Editorial writers should be told to meet regularly with knowledgeable reporters and editors with areas of expertise for facts and suggestions about what direction the paper should take editorially.

### 3. ADAPT AN ATTITUDE OF OPENNESS TOWARD EXAMINATION AND CRITICISM BOTH FROM WITHIN THE PAPER AND FROM WITHOUT

The irony of people in the news media resisting examination and criticism is hard to miss. This resistance is also self-defeating. The hysterical reaction to the Davey and Kent government studies obscured a large number of useful insights and suggestions that the news media could have turned to its own advantage. By ignoring and publicly spurning critics, the news media may make it easier for a government someday to claim public support for legal controls over news media content.

It's not just government-appointed researchers who are

ignored. This study attracted a 41.8 percent response rate to its questionnaire, which was acceptable for its purposes but still meant more than half the journalists in The Star newsroom ignored it, especially managers and upper-level editors. Management did nothing to help in the research or encourage participation.

Janet Crocker, editor of the 1986 edition of the Ryerson Journalism Review, was surprised to discover the fear of criticism among journalists when Ryerson students were gathering material for the annual review. She wrote that she and her fellow students were shocked

that so many journalists in the 'real world' are evasive, defensive and reactionary when it comes to discussing the problems facing their craft. ... we found too many people who blindly follow the baggy-pants fundamentals of journalism -- getting the scoop, relying heavily on official sources, ignoring the consequences of their stories -- without ever stopping to think about what they are doing and how they could do it better. Some would not even admit the possibility that the news media have any problems. Worse still were those who would not even defend their position.

She singled out The Toronto Star for particular criticism for failing to co-operate or even show common courtesy.

The point is these people are journalists, watchdogs of society, supposedly; diggers out of corruption in government and business, dedicated to serving the public interest and to reform. But when it comes to themselves, they're blind.

Journalists lose no opportunity to invoke 'the public's right to know' -- when it serves their purpose. But clearly, if our experience is any indication, the public's right to know does not extend to the practice of journalism<sup>9</sup>

#### 4. APPOINT GOOD MANAGERS AND LET THEM MANAGE

It is hard to believe the publisher of The Toronto Star or any other newspaper or large company controls every appointment and then interferes with the conduct of every appointee. Beland Honderich had developed a well-earned reputation as a "hands-on" publisher, but it is doubtful that anyone will write Honderich's obituary the way William Allen White wrote in his Emporia Gazette about Frank Munsey, the great newspaper chain operator of his day:

Frank Munsey, the great publisher is dead.

Frank Munsey contributed to the journalism of his day the talent of a meatpacker, the morals of a money changer, the manners of an undertaker. He and his kind have about succeeded in transforming a once-noble profession into an eight percent security.

May he rest in trust.10

The point is, there are worse places to work as a journalist than The Toronto Star. It is too easy to blame all the management problems at The Star on Honderich. Besides, he is retired as publisher and, although he remains as head of the parent corporation, it will no longer be as convenient to blame decision-making on him. Good managers allowed to manage with the readers as their primary concern could make the paper a happier place for workers and the readers.

Re-read In Search of Excellence. The common characteristics of the well-run business cited there seem to be uniformly missing in the newspaper business and at The Star.

Readers of this study will be aware the concept of "groupthink" was cited as a main cause for social systems that

lead to willing acceptance of policy, insularism and resistance to change. Here are Irving L. Janis's recommendations to avoid the dangers of groupthink:

1. Leaders of a policy-making group should encourage members to express critical evaluations and raise objections and doubts.

This practice needs to be reinforced by the leader's acceptance of criticism of his own judgments in order to discourage members from soft-peddling their disagreements and from allowing their striving for concurrence to inhibit criticism.

2. When assigning a policy-making mission adopt an impartial stance instead of stating expectations at the beginning.

3. Allow outside experts to comment on the views of the group.

4. Encourage one member to employ the devil's advocate "functioning as a good lawyer in challenging the testimony of those who advocate the majority position."<sup>11</sup>

##### 5. CHALLENGE THE ACCEPTED DEFINITION OF NEWS

It is possible newspaper editors do not know everything there is to know about news judgment. Instead of setting a news policy and forcing the events of the day to conform to it, consider a wider agenda dictated by events and a dedication to explain them in a way that fully serves the public's need to know rather than the newspaper's need to reinforce its policies. This does not mean a lowering in the paper's standards. In fact, it would raise them. This, admittedly, is not easy in a competitive situation. The paper must still have popular appeal. But when faced with competition from papers like The Toronto Sun, it is

doubtful conforming to The Sun's definition of news will work. First of all, The Sun is better at it. Secondly, there is only so much room on the lowest common denominator shelf on the newsstand. Better that The Star sets its own definitions and standards and then do a good job meeting them.

#### 6. CHANGE THE NEWSROOM ORGANIZATIONAL SET-UP

Consider changing the news desk system, where all copy is co-ordinated through one desk manned by editors who rarely meet reporters and always operate under stringent time pressures.

The system has little outside input once production towards deadline begins. Perhaps senior editors from each department should be on hand during the production shift to counter-balance the necessarily production-oriented outlook of news desk editors.

Inviting reporters and low-level editors on a rotating basis to story conferences may provide valuable information for all concerned.

Regular meetings of senior editors, junior editors and reporters in each division would be helpful in keeping all concerned informed and involved in the department's operation. Perhaps editors could be given the chance to develop areas of expertise and deal with reporters in the same specialty.

#### 7. BE PROFESSIONAL

The word 'professional' is used reluctantly in reference to journalists, but for lack of better term, professionalism is



encouraged as a way to fight the effects of news policy. Be good at your job. Get it right. Get it on time. Get good stories. Present them well. Be fair. Raise our credibility. Be so good at your job that you receive a high degree of autonomy and the right to make your own decisions rather than being directed by someone who doesn't know your job as well as you do.

There is seldom a need for self-censorship and prior restraint by internal sources on news coverage. Unless ordered to do something you know is not the right thing to do, do you really have to do it? Maybe not. Maybe you just assume you were ordered to follow policy or maybe you anticipate you must follow policy. Maybe what you assumed to be the policy was not valid. Maybe what you anticipated was not true. Follow policy when ordered to on deadline, of course, and argue about it later. Making the paper late is not "professional". either and makes you easy to ignore and lessens your credibility. Editors with guts can fight bureaucracy and other internal roadblocks to doing our jobs. If the paper sings on its own every day, maybe the conductor will lay down his baton more often and listen.

Professionalism includes self-evaluation. The concept of true "democracy in the newsroom" is probably unworkable anyway. Better that a mechanism be set up by journalists within a news organization for self-evaluation and accountability. Each newsroom's organization could be joined in a provincial or national body. A journalism review of some kind may result. In the meantime, the few journalists' organizations that now exist

should be encouraged, perhaps funded by newspaper owners and the Guild. Existing publications like Content need the support of individual journalists, news organizations and schools of journalism to thrive rather than scrape by from issue to issue.

As Robert Fulford wrote in his report for the Kent Commission:

"... journalists are only marginally professional, yet they are also aware that in that margin exists not only their salvation but their reason for existence. Maintaining the margin requires, in [John W.] Dafoe's words, a sort of reckless courage. At root this is the philosophy of journalism."<sup>12</sup> Be courageous. Be reckless sometimes.

#### 8. BE ETHICAL

The fact that there are ethical journalists in newsrooms all over, including The Toronto Star, is evidence that you do not have to make the supreme sacrifice of quitting to make a point. If an assignment or editing instruction is questionable to you for ethical reasons, speak up. Good editors may not tell you right away, but they appreciate courage and idealism. Be reasonable and pick your spots, but even cub reporters can question assignments or, at worse, soften them by the way they conduct themselves and write their stories. You can do more for journalism and your readers inside the paper than in public relations or whatever job you can find after quitting. It would be ideal if ethical conduct was instituted at the highest level and worked its way downward. But there is nothing to stop those at the bottom of the pyramid from getting started while they wait

for the trickle-down effect to reach them. Among Carleton University journalism professor Carman Cumming's suggestions on how ordinary journalists can act ethically, are: (1) don't let anyone else make your news judgments; (2) where loyalty to your employer is concerned, be as faithful as you can be without betraying the public trust.<sup>13</sup>

#### 9. SET UP A FORMAL MECHANISM FOR STAFF PARTICIPATION IN NEWSROOM DECISION- MAKING

Editors spend their work day inside an office building. Reporters are in daily contact with newsmakers. Many have considerable expertise in government, the courts, the environment, women's issues, housing, business, sports and other matters important to the readers. Junior and middle-level editors deal with the raw copy and act as a bridge between reporters and senior editors. Not consulting the staff is waste of resources, if nothing else, and a missed opportunity to improve staff relations at little or no cost.

The Detroit Free Press set up a permanent 10-member task force in 1983 that has representation from every editorial department. It meets on a regular basis with top editors and provides a progress report on such things as the hiring and promotion of minorities, monitors issues of sensitivity in the newsroom, publishes a quarterly newsletter that points out areas of insensitivity published in the paper and praises good work.<sup>14</sup>

The Toronto Star currently has a small task force examining

the paper and exploring options for future direction. It could be expanded to include others from the newsroom and made permanent. Its current publications of praise and criticism and writings on journalism could be made into a regular publication.

A formal mechanism is required to guarantee a meaningful staff participation program. Research shows employees are quick to pick out a sham.

Staff participation, of course, means that the staff must not only be given a chance to participate, but must be willing to get involved when given the chance.

Regular meetings between senior editors and staff should be held. At least one yearly staff meeting with the publisher does not seem like an unreasonable suggestion.

#### 10. SET UP A FORMAL MECHANISM FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN NEWSROOM DECISION-MAKING.

Let the readers have a say in the news coverage. The Kent Commission reportedly came close to recommending that editors be appointed by community advisory committees. Such committees would have advised the editor on news coverage and report to a national press rights panel.<sup>15</sup> Such a powerful committee is not being urged here, but some form of community involvement should be formally instituted with a cross-section of the community, similar to the Ontario Press Council representation. It could meet regularly with the senior editors and periodically with the publisher to report on the paper's performance and offer

suggestions for coverage.

The ombudsman's office could be expanded and be given a higher profile. It could reach out into the community, sending people from the paper to the community and bringing people from the community to the paper for dialogues. Instead of waiting for members of the public to complain, the ombudsman's office could be a more aggressive advocate of readers' rights and newsmakers' rights within the paper, spearheading research, tracking down the cause of mistakes and instituting measures to make sure they don't happen again.

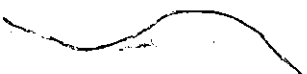
#### 11. ENCOURAGE RESEARCH INTO JOURNALISM

End the scorn for academic research. Newspapers should reach out to the resources of universities with ideas and money for research about themselves, then listen when the information comes in. Use the enormous resources and talented people at universities to challenge old assumptions. Challenge them to break new ground. Find out about where newspapers stand in the rapidly changing communications and information fields in the minds of their readers and society as a whole.

Researchers should, in turn, focus their efforts on practical topics that will be of use to working journalists.

#### 12. PREPARE JOURNALISM STUDENTS BETTER

The sociological part of the training of journalism students should prepare them for the realities of newsroom dynamics and



research into the social forces at work in newsrooms that will bring pressure on them and influence their decision-making and therefore their stories. The sink or swim method now in effect is fine for those who swim, but disastrous for those who sink or need some time to learn. Many can only tread water and hope for the best. Research into prospective employers' histories and news policy would be helpful to new journalists. How can one expect to deal with a newspaper's news policy if one has not examined the manifestations of that news policy at work in the past and the history of the paper that led to development of the policy?

Working journalists should be invited to seminar discussions in journalism schools to share experiences with such topics as news policy, peer pressure, reference groups and dealing with senior editors. Lawyers and doctors take an active role in the education and apprenticeships of newcomers to their professions, why shouldn't journalists?

### 13. MOTIVATIONAL AND PERSONALITY TESTING OF JOURNALISTS

Newspapers should take advantage of methods of testing to determine the motivational profile of new and veteran employees. Such tests may ease job dissatisfaction and redirect unhappy employees to new positions. Some traditional jobs might need rethinking. Jobs within the newsroom require greatly different skills. Someone who writes good headlines may not be suited for co-ordinating reporters' assignments. Too many people in the wrong job may be a significant factor in poor newsroom-decision making and ease the maintenance of news policy.

#### 14. SCRAP THE MERIT PAY SYSTEM

Merit pay and bonuses for some employees create the possibility that staffers who toe the company line get paid extra for it and those who question policy suffer financially for it. The policy may do more harm than good as far as improving morale and production is concerned. Research into the effects of a merit pay system should at least be undertaken.<sup>16</sup> Unless it is proven to be beneficial, scrap it and use the money saved to pay everyone more or to hire more staff. If some of the money was used to pay moving costs to Toronto and for assistance at qualifying for mortgages to help cover the increased cost of living in a city much more expensive than the rest of Canada, it would go a long way to attracting experienced journalists to The Star and therefore improve the paper.

#### 15. ESTABLISH EDUCATION COMMITTEES

Newspapers should actively encourage self-improvement among journalists and spearhead education programs, such as bringing guest speakers, experts in various fields of journalism and other disciplines, writing coaches, editing experts and spokesmen from the community and special interest groups.

In the absence of company-sponsored education programs, the Southern Ontario Newspaper Guild should establish an education committee and spearhead improved education and "professionalization" of its members.

## 16. PROVIDE HUMAN RELATIONS TRAINING FOR MANAGERS AND KEY EDITORS

Other businesses would not dream of trying to administer a large staff without extensive training in personnel management for managers. It is clear from the questionnaire results analyzed for this study that The Star needs improvement in staff relations. Human relations training should be provided for both managers and other employees who deal with staff. Changes like affirmative action programs for women and staff participation in decision-making should not be attempted without properly trained leaders. Non-supervisory staff could also benefit from formal training and informal seminars in human relations. Some concerted effort is needed to influence staff at all levels to treat each other as important human beings, as helpers and co-ordinators in a large and complex organization striving to publish a good product.

## 17. RE-CONSIDER THE NEWS POLICY.

If a news policy is inevitable, it should be up to date. The Toronto Star grew to be Canada's largest paper with the help of a news policy that was on the leading edge of social change. It happened to be in tune with what a sizeable number of readers and, therefore, politicians wanted to see accomplished. But today, advocating justice for workers, medicare, social security, nationalism and the Liberal Party may be worthwhile, but hardly on the leading edge any longer.



#### 4. Suggestions for further study.

The field of social influences in the newsroom has been fairly widely studied as this paper's literature review illustrates, but the narrow concern of how news policy is maintained, as pioneered by Warren Breed, is relatively barren of practical research. Because of the restraints of the questionnaire technique of information-gathering, both in terms of length and content of the questionnaire, this study was not even able to explore all the avenues suggested by Breed's earlier works. The present study raises several suggestions for additional research.

1. A study similar to this one at The Toronto Star after five years under new publisher David Jolley, would prove fruitful. A comparison could be made to staff perceptions of policy enforcement under a publisher from the business side of the paper compared to former reporter/editor Honderich's hands-on approach.

2. Studies similar to this one at other newspaper could be done and compared to The Star. A comparison of the other Toronto papers and The Star would be interesting since they operate in the same market. As seen in the literature review, other papers, especially The Sun have had fun over the years ridiculing The Star and its publisher's influence on the news. It would be interesting to see if The Sun's employees feel they operate under a news policy. Ideally, a similar study could be done on all Canadian newspapers. Such a study could be funded by the Canadian

Daily Newspaper Publishers Association or the Canadian managing editors' organization.

3. The relationship between publishers and editors of chain papers and independent papers could be compared. Are they as different as assumed by the Kent Commission? Maybe independent papers have stronger enforcement of news policies than do chains.

4. The effect of one news policy on coverage of one topic could produce useful information. The Star's coverage of the Canada-U.S. free trade-deal is worth a study in itself. Also, The Star's coverage could be compared with The Globe and Mail's or other papers whose policies are perceived to be different than The Star's.

5. A study could be done at one newspaper, like The Toronto Star, to determine exactly in what areas reporters and editors would like to become involved in decision-making. Maybe they don't want to participate at all, or maybe just in certain areas. Staffers and managers could be polled for their views and results compared.

6. Attempt to find out more about middle-level and upper-level editors at The Star or other papers. Beland Honderich said in his interview for this study that he depends on editors knowing what the public wants to read. He said they learn this from talking to their friends and neighbors, as well as reporters. Who are these people? Are they demographically matched with the readers? Are their friends mostly other editors or do they truly mingle with a cross-section of the community? What is

their news philosophy? Their philosophy of life? What makes them tick? Why don't they respond to surveys aimed at finding these things out?

7. A study like Chris Argyris' Beyond the Front Page could be tried at The Star or other large paper. Argyris, a trained sociologist, went into the paper for several months, evaluated staff morale and organizational problems and organized seminars and groups to try to solve the problems. Argyris was largely unsuccessful, but other papers may be more suited to such an experiment.

8. Recruitment was not fully investigated in this study as a form of social control. Does The Star attract liberal journalists or do liberal journalists drift to The Star? Do conservative reporters and editors somehow end up at The Globe even though The Globe doesn't actively recruit them?

9. Reporter power has received little research, especially in Canada. What efforts have been made toward democracy in the newsroom? What successes have been made?

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER VI

1. Daniel Garvey Jr., "Social Control in the Television Newsroom (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1971).

2. Chris Argyris, Beyond the Front Page (San Francisco: Josey-Bass, 1974).

3. Ibid., p. xi.

4. Walter Stewart, Canadian Newspapers: The Inside Story (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1980), p. 111.

5. Ibid., p. 112.

6. Ted Joseph, "Daily newspaper reporters and editors preferences for decision making and existing decision-making practices" (PhD dissertation, Ohio University, 1980), p. 94.

7. Paul Goodman, Growing Up Absurd (New York: Vantage Books, 1956), p. 94.

8. Warren Breed, "Social control in the newsroom," in Mass Communications, ed. Wilbur Schramm (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1960), p. 194.

9. Janet Crocker, "The reluctant journalist," Content (May/June, 1986): 7.

10. Ben Bagdikian, The Media Monopoly (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983), pp. 73-74.

11. Irving L. Janis, "Groupthink," Psychology Today, (November, 1971): 245.

12. Robert Fulford, "A sort of reckless courage," in The Journalists, research publication of the Royal Commission on Newspapers, Vol. 2 (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1981), p. 16.

13. Carman Cumming, "Ethics -- no easy answers," Content (May/June, 1988): 8-9.

14. "Newsroom credibility: 206 practical approaches to heighten reader trust," a special report to the Credibility Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April, 1986.

15. William C. Heine, Kooks & Dukes Counts & No-Accounts: Why Newspapers Do What They Do (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1986), p. 39.

16. The author does not receive merit pay and is forced to concede there may be a sour-grapes factor at work here.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### BOOKS

- Argyris, Chris. Beyond the Front Page. San Francisco: Josey-Bass, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Integrating the Individual and the Organization. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959.
- Altheid, David. Creating Reality: How Television Distorts Events. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974.
- Bagdikian, Ben H. "Professional, personnel and organizational structure in the mass media." In Mass Communication Research: Major Issues and Future Directions, pp. 122-142. Edited by W. Phillip Davison and Frederick T.C. Yu. New York: Praeger, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Media Monopoly. Boston: Beacon Press, 1983.
- Bain, George. "English-speaking journalists on journalism." In The Journalists, pp. 53-71. Research report for the Royal Commission on Newspapers. [Kent Commission]. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1981.
- Barnard, Chester. Functions of the Executive. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Bendix, Reinhard. Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1960.
- Biddle, Bruce J. and Thomas, Edwin J., eds. Role Theory: Concepts and Research. John Wiley and Sons, 1966.
- Blakemore, Colin. Mechanisms of the Mind. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Breed, Warren. "Mass communication and sociocultural integration." In People, Society and Mass Communications, pp. 183-199. Edited by Lewis Drexler and David White. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Social Control in the Newsroom." In Mass Communications, pp. 178-194. Edited by Wilbur Schramm. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960.
- Canada. Proceedings of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media. [Davey Committee]. No. 16, January 30, 1970. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970.

Canada. Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences. [Massey Commission]. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951.

Canada. Report of the Royal Commission on Newspapers. [Kent Commission]. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1981.

Canada. Report of the Royal Commission on Publications. [O'Leary Commission]. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1961.

Canada. Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting. [Aird Commission]. Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1929.

Canada. Report of the Special Senat  Committee on Mass Media. 3 Vols. [Davey Committee] Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1970.

Clement, Wallace. The Canadian Corporate Elite. Toronto: McClelland Stuart, 1957.

De Fleur, Melvin. "Mass media as social systems." In Processes and Effects of Mass Communications, pp. 63-83. Edited by Wilbur Schramm. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971.

Dempson, Peter. Assignment Ottawa: Seventeen Years in the Parliamentary Press Gallery. Toronto: General Publishing, 1968.

Diamond, Edwin. "Reporter power takes root." In Our Troubled Press, pp. 338-389. Edited by Alfred Balk. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971.

Donahue, George A.; Tichenor, Phillip, J.; Olien, Clarice N.; "Gatekeeping: Mass media systems and information control." In Current Perspectives in Mass Communications Research, pp. 41-69. Edited by F. Gerald Kline and Phillip J. Tichenor. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972.

Druker, Peter F. The Practice of Management. New York: Harper and Row, 1954.

Effron, Edith. The News Twisters. Los Angeles: Nash Publications, 1971.

Ericson, Richard V; Baranek, Patricia, M.; and Chan, Janet B.L. Visualizing Deviance. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Fromm, Erich. Escape from Freedom. New York: Avon, 1965.

- Fulford, Robert. "A sort of Reckless Courage." In The Journalists, pp. 3-17. Research report for the Royal Commission on Newspapers [Kent Commission]. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1981.
- Gans, Herbert. Deciding What's News. New York; Pantheon Books, 1979.
- Gieber, Walter. "News is what newspapermen make it." In People, Society and Mass Communications, pp. 173-180. Edited by Lewis Drexler and David White.
- Goodman, Paul. Growing Up Absurd. New York: Vintage Books, 1956.
- Halberstam, David. The Powers That Be. New York: Knopf, 1979.
- Harkness, Ross. J.E. Atkinson of The Star. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.
- Heine, William C. Kooks & Dukes, Counts & No-Accounts: Why Newspapers Do What They Do. Edmonton; Hurtig Publishers, 1986.
- Hulteng, John L. The Messenger's Motives: Ethical Problems of the News Media. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1985.
- Johnstone, John W. C.; Slawski, Edward J. and Bowman, William W., The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and Their Work. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979.
- Kervin, John B. "Toronto: Declining union influence." In Labor Relations in the Newspaper Industry, pp. 73-104. Research report for the Royal Commission on Newspapers. [Kent Commission]. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1981.
- Kubas, Leonard. Newspapers and Their Readers. Research report for the Royal Commission on Newspapers. [Kent Commission]. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1981.
- Liebling, A. J. The Press. New York: Ballantine Press, 1961.
- Likert, Rensis. New Patterns of Management. New York: McGraw Hill, 1961.
- Lipmann, Walter. Public Opinion. Toronto: Free Press, 1965.
- MacDougall, Curtis D. The Press and Its Problems. Dubuque, Iowa: W.C. Brown, 1964.



- McGregor, Douglas. The Human Side of Enterprise. New York: McGraw Hill, 1960.
- McNaught, Carlton, W. Canada Gets the News. Toronto: Ryerson, 1940.
- Manthorpe, Jonathan. The Power and the Tories. Toronto: Macmillan, 1974.
- Marcus, Herbert. The One Dimensional Man. Boston; Beacon Press, 1964.
- Maslow, Abraham. Motivation and Personality. 2nd ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.
- Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: Free Press, 1968.
- Parsons, Talcott and Shils, Edward, eds. Toward a General Theory of Action. New York; Harper and Row, 1962.
- Patchen, Martin. Participation, Achievement and Involvement on the Job. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970.
- Peter, Lawrence J. The Peter Principle. New York; W. Morrow, 1968.
- Peters, Thomas J. and Waterman, Robert H. In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-Run Companies. New York: Harper and Row, 1982.
- Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- Riesman, David. The Lonely Crowd. New York; Yale University Press, 1950.
- Rosten, Leo C. The Washington Correspondents. New York; Harcourt, 1937.
- Schramm, Wilbur and Porter, William E. Men, Women, Messages and Media. 2nd ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Processes and Effects of Mass Communication. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971.
- Servan-Schreiber, Jean Louis. The Power to Inform. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.
- Sherif, Muzafer and Sherif, Carolyn W. Social Psychology. New York; Harper and Row, 1969.

- Siebert, Frederick; Peterson, Theodore and Wilbur Schramm. Four Theories of the Press. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965.
- Simon, Herbert A. Administrative Behavior. 3ed ed. New York: Free Press, 1976.
- Stewart, Walter, ed. Canadian Newspapers: The Inside Story. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1980.
- Tannenbaum, Arnold S. Capital in Organizations. New York: Prentice Hall, 1968.
- Talese, Gay. The Kingdom and the Power. New York: World Publishing, 1969.
- Trueman, Peter. Foreward to The Newsmongers, by Mary Anne Comber and Robert S. Mayne. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986.
- Tuchman, Gaye. Making News: A Study of the Construction of Reality. New York; Free Press, 1978.
- Turner, Ralph, ed. Robert E. Park on Social Control and Collective Behavior: Selected Papers. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
- White, William Allen. The Autobiography of William Allen White. New York: MacMillan, 1946.

#### JOURNALS AND MAGAZINES

- Altheide, David L. "Newsworkers and Newsmakers: A study of news use." Urban Life, October 1978, pp. 359-378.
- Ardwick, Lord J.C.B. "Editorial policy making and the Royal Commission on the press." Government and Opposition 10:1 (Winter 1975): 12-23.
- Bagdikian, Ben H. "Shaping Media Content: Professional Personnel Organizational Structure." Public Opinion Quarterly 37:4 (Winter 1973): 569-570.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The politics of American newspapers." Columbia Journalism Review 10:6 (March/April, 1972): 8-13.
- Bain, George. "A beacon of wealthy journalism." Maclean's, June 23, 1986, p. 42.
- Becker, Lee B.; Sobowale, I. A., and Cobbey, Robin E., "Reporters and their professional organizational commitment." Journalism Quarterly 56:4 (Winter, 1979): 753-763.

- Bell, Daniel. "Worker alienation and social control." Dissent 21:2 (Spring 1972): 207-212
- Bethune, Beverly M. "Sociological portrait of the daily newspaper photographer." Journalism Quarterly. 61:3 (Autumn 1984) 606-614, 743.
- Bogart, Leo. "Changing news interests and the mass media." Public Opinion Quarterly 32:4 (Winter 1968-69): 560-574.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Management of Mass Media: An agenda for research." Public Opinion Quarterly 37:4 (Winter 1973-74); 580-589.
- Bowers, David R. "A report on activity by publishers in directing newsroom decisions." Journalism Quarterly 44:1 (Spring 1967): 43-52.
- Breed, Warren. "Newspaper opinion leaders and the process of standardization." Journalism Quarterly 32:3 (Summer 1955): 277-284, 328.
- Buresh, Bernice. "The royal succession [at The Boston Globe]." Washington Journalism Review, January, 1985, pp. 35-39.
- Burgoon, Judee K.; Burgoon, Michael; Buller, David B. and Atkin, Charles K. "Communication practices of journalists: Interaction with public, other journalists." Journalism Quarterly 64:1 (Summer 1987) pp. 125-135, 275.
- Chambers, Allan. "New Gleaner finds chaff good eating." Content, January, 1978, p. 3.
- Cherry, Dianne Lynne. "Newspaper people's significant others: Ethics as a function of reference groups." Newspaper Research Journal, Spring 1985, pp. 33-46.
- Chusimir, L. H. "Profile of motivational needs of individuals in the newspaper industry." Newspaper Research Journal, Fall 1983, pp. 33-41.
- Cransberg, Gilbert. "The editor-error equation." Columbia Journalism Review, March/April 1978, pp. 40-42.
- Crocker, Janet. "The reluctant journalist." Content May/June 1986, p. 7.
- Culbertson, Hugh M. "Three perspectives on American journalists." Journalism Monographs 83 (June 1983): 1-33.
- Cumming, Carman. "Ethics -- no easy answers." Content, May/June, 1988, pp. 8-9.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The coming battle over media power." Carleton Journalism Review 1:1 (Spring 1977).

Cutler, Bill and Shields, Mitchell. "Is Jacksonville jinxed?" Columbia Journalism Review 22:6 (March/April 1984): 32-35.

Davey, Keith. "For good journalists, boosterism is fatal." Maclean's, June 19, 1972, p. 24.

"Dialogue in the newsroom." Columbia Journalism Review, Summer 1970, p. 2

Desbarats, Peter. "How the media operate." Business Quarterly 50 (Summer, 1985): pp. 93-98.

Dimmick, John and Coit, Philip. "Levels of analysis in media decision-making: A taxonomy, research strategy and illustrative data analysis." Communications Research 8:1 (January 1982): 3-32.

Donohew, Lewis. "Newspaper gatekeepers and forces in the news channel." Public Opinion Quarterly 3:1 (Spring 1967): 61-68.

Enders, Fred F. "Influences on the ethical socialization of U.S. newspaper journalists." Newspaper Research Journal 6:3 (1985): 47-56.

Ehrenreich, Barbara. "Put on a happy face." Mother Jones, May, 1987, p. 60.

Fetherling, Doug. "The lion in winter." Saturday Night, May 1983, pp. 50-59.

Fico, Frederick. "Perceived roles and editorial concerns influence reporters in two statehouses." Journalism Quarterly 67:5 (Winter 1985): 784-790.

Flegel, Ruth C. and Chaffee, Steven. "Influences of editors, readers and personal opinions on reporters." Journalism Quarterly 48 (Winter 1971): 645-651.

Fulford, Robert. "Boneyard of broken dreams." Saturday Night, January 1971, pp. 7-8.

Gane, Lorraine. "How publishers influence daily news coverage." Carleton Journalism Review 2:1 (Spring 1979): 1.

Gans, Herbert. "News media, news policy, and democracy: Research for the future." Journal of Communications 33:3 (Summer 1983): 174-184.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "The famine in American mass communications research: Comments on Hirsch, Tuchman and Gecas." American Journal of Sociology 77 (January 1972): 697-705.
- Gieber, Walter. "Across the desk: A study of 16 telegraph editors." Journalism Quarterly 33:4 (Fall 1956): 423-432.
- Gormley, William Thomas Jr. "Newspaper agendas and political elites." Journalism Quarterly 52:2 (Summer 1975): 304-308.
- Goyder, John. "Face to face interviews vs. questionnaires." Public Opinion Quarterly 49:2 (Summer 1985): 234-253.
- Granberg, Donald; Jefferson, N. Lyneel; Bent, Edward E. Jr. and King, Michael. "Membership group, reference group, and attribution of attitudes to groups." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 40 (May 1981): 833-842.
- Gray, Richard C. and Wilhoit, G. Cleveland. "Portrait of the U.S. Journalist." Editor and Publisher 116:21 (May 1983): 11.
- Grey, David L. "Decision-making by a reporter under deadline pressure." Journalism Quarterly 43:3 (Autumn 1966): 419-428.
- Hager, Mary G. "The myth of objectivity." American Psychologist 37 (May 1982): 576-579.
- Hall, Richard H. "Professionalization and Bureaucratization." American Sociological Review 33:1 (February 1968): 92-104.
- Hangland, J. G. and Wood, J. R. "Control in organizations and the commitment of members." Social Forces 59:1 (Summer 1980): 85-105.
- Jackson, Susan E. "Participation in decision making as a strategy for reducing job-related strain." Journal of Applied Psychology 68 (February 1983): 3-19.
- Jago, Arthur G. "Assessment of deemed appropriateness of participative decision making for high and low hierarcial levels." Human Relations 34:5 (May 1981): 379-396.
- Janis, Irving L. "Groupthink." Psychology Today, November 1971, pp. 236-246.
- Janowitz, Morris. "Professional models in journalism: The gatekeeper advocate." Journalism Quarterly 52:4 (Winter 1975) 618-626; 662.
- Johnstone, John W.C. "Organizational constraints on newswork."

Joseph, Ted. "Daily publishers' preferences on reporter decision-making." Journalism Quarterly 62:5 (Winter 1985): 899-901.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Existing decision-making practices on Daily Newspapers in Canada." Canadian Journal of Communication 8:2 (Spring 1982): 65-68.

Katz, Jack. "Cover-up and collective integrity; on the natural antagonisms of authority internal and external to organizations." Social Problems 25:1 (October 1977): 3-17.

Kerrick, J. S.; Anderson, T. E. and Swales, L. B. "Balance and writers; attitudes in news stories and editorials," Journalism Quarterly 41:2 (Spring 1964): 207-215.

Kees, Beverly. "Newspaper people will work for things money cannot buy." The Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, (September/October 1986): 4-8.

Kennedy, George. "Reporter power lives -- in Iowa." Columbia Journalism Review, (November/December 1976) 30; 35.

Kinsey, Gwyn. "News with a divining rod." Saturday Night, March 17, 1965, pp. 13-15.

Krangle, Karen and Moody, Lin. "Fotheringham affair shows unhealthy situation at Canada's third-largest daily." Content, April 1976, p. 8.

Kuttner, Robert. "Royal succession [at The New York Times and Washington Post]." Washington Journalism Review, January 1985, pp. 23-34.

Lazarsfeld, Paul. "The role of criticism in the management of mass media." Journalism Quarterly 25:2 (June 1946): 115-126.

Liebes, B.H. "Decision-making by telegraph editors -- AP or UPI?" Journalism Quarterly 43:3 (Autumn, 1966): 434-442.

Long, Richard J. "Effects of formal employee participation in ownership and decision making on perceived and desired patterns of organizational influence: A longitudinal study." Human Relations 34:10 (October 1981): 847-876.

Madden, Thomas J. "Editor Authoritarianism and the effects on news display." Journalism Quarterly 48:1 (Winter, 1971): 660-666.

McLeod, Jac and Hawley, Searle E. Jr. "Professionalism among newsmen." Journalism Quarterly 41:4 (Autumn 1964): 529-538.

- Matusow, Barbara. "Newspaper star system: fast track for the favored few." Washington Journalism Review, May 1986, pp. 19-22.
- Mencher, Melvin. "Romantics in the newsroom." Columbia Journalism Review 20:3 (September/October 1981): 41-45.
- Miller, Susan. "Managing in the newsroom: Trading tough talk for TLC." Washington Journalism Review 8:3 (March 1986): 30-33.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Young and the restless: Managing Yuppies in the newsroom." Washington Journalism Review, October 1985, pp. 36-38.
- Moore, Michael. "How to keep 'em happy in Flint." Columbia Journalism Review 24:3 (September/October 1985): 40-43.
- O'Hara, Jane. "Not worth yelling 'Stop the presses'," Maclean's, February 23, 1981, p. 29.
- Polansky, Sharon and Hughes, Douglas W.W. "Managerial innovation in newsroom organizations." Newspaper Research Journal 8:1 (Fall 1986): 1-12.
- Pollard, George. "Professionalism among Canadian newswriters: A cross-media analysis." Gazette 36: (1985) 21-38.
- Porat, A. Ben. "Middle managers' reference group: Effect of perception." Psychological Reports 43 (December 1978): 1043-1046.
- Prugger, Francis V. "Social composition and the training of the Milwaukee Journal news staff." Journalism Quarterly 18:3 (September 1941): 231-244.
- Reeds, G. Robert. "Joseph E. Atkinson." Canadian Forum, June 1948, pp. 56-57.
- "Reporters: Self-criticism in Chicago." Time March 21, 1969, p. 71.
- "Revolt of the editors." Newsweek. June 2, 1969, p. 84.
- Rivers, William J. "The correspondents after 25 years." Columbia Journalism Review, Spring, 1962, pp. 4-10.
- Ross, Madelyn A. "Here's how newsrooms can cope with corporate journalism." The Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, December, 1986, pp. 4-7.

- Sasser, Emery and Russell, John. "The fallacy of news judgment." Journalism Quarterly 49:3 280-284.
- Schmitz, Anthony. "Minneapolis's new (double) standard." Columbia Journalism Review 19:2 (July/August, 1980): 18.
- Schwoebel, Jean. "The miracle 'Le Monde' wrought." Columbia Journalism Review, (Summer 1970), pp. 8-11.
- Shaver, Harold. "Job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among journalism graduates." Journalism Quarterly 5:2 (Spring 1978): 54-61.
- Shields, Stephen and Dunwoody, Sharon. "The social world of the statehouse pressroom." Newspaper Research Journal 8:1 (Fall 1956): 43-51.
- Sigelman, Lee. "Reporting the news: An organizational analysis." American Journal of Sociology. 79:1 (July 1973): 132-151.
- Snider, Paul B. " 'Mr. Gates' revisited." Journalism Quarterly 44:3 (Autumn, 1967): 419-426.
- Sohn, Ardyth B. and Chusmir, Leonard H. "The motivational perspectives of newspaper managers." Journalism Quarterly 62:2 (Summer 1985): 296-303.
- Spears, Borden. "Publisher: 'The people have to be kept next to.' Editor: 'Kept next to? What does that mean?'" Content, November 1975, p. 20.
- "Stronger voice for reporters." Time, May 25, 1970, p. 57.
- Styskal, R. A. "Power and commitment in organizations: A test of the participation thesis." Social Forces 58:3 (March 1980): 925-943.
- Surlin, Stuart H., and Cuthbert, Marlene. "Symbiotic news coverage of the Grenada crisis in Canada and the Caribbean." Canadian Journal of Communication 12:3-4 (1966) pp. 53-73.
- Tennant, Hal. "I hate to interfere, but ... ." Toronto Life, March 1971, p. 36.
- Tillinghast, William A. "Slanting the news: Source perception after changes in newspaper management." Journalism Quarterly 61:2 (Summer 1984): 310-316, 418.
- Tuchman, Gaye. "Objectivity as a strategic ritual: An examination



of newspapermen's notion of objectivity." American Journal of Psychology 77:4 (March, 1972): 660-679.

Welles, Chris. "Creeping capitalism." Columbia Journalism Review, 22:1 (May/June, 1983): 55-56.

Westell, Dan. "The news according to big business sources." Content, Winter 1983-84, pp 180.

"Who owns journalism?" Time, January 19, 1975, pp.60-61.

White, David M. "The 'gatekeeper:' A case study in the selection of news." Journalism Quarterly 27:4 (Fall 1950): 383-390.

Wilson, C. Edward. "Why Canadian newsmen leave their papers." Journalism Quarterly 43:4 (Winter 1966): 769-772.

Wright, Donald K. "An analysis of the level of professionalism among Canadian journalists." Gazette 20:2 (1974): 133-144.

#### NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Campbell, Murray J., and Hunt, Stephen. "Honderich steps down as Star's 'hands-on' publisher." Globe and Mail, September 1, 1988, p. 86.

Crane, David. "90-day freeze in PM's secret pay, price plan." Toronto Star, June 29, 1974, p. 1.

Finlay, J. Richard. "How much does the CEO know? Like Reagan, he may be in dark," Toronto Star, September 14, 1987, p. B2.

Fisher, Doug. "Belling Beland." Toronto Sun, October 14, 1987, p. 11.

Fotheringham, Allan. "A paper for true Grits." Toronto Sun, May 6, 1988, p. 12.

"New chief executives appointed by Torstar." Toronto Star, September 1, 1988, p. 1.

"Please let us explain ... ." Toronto Star, December 31, 1986, p. A15.

"Reisman calls Star 'a rag' tells reporter he's 'a hack'." Toronto Star, September 23, 1987, p. A4.

Southam News Service. Edited transcript of an interview between Canada's chief free trade negotiator and Southam News Service reporters John Ferguson and Juliet O'Neil. Distributed October 9, 1987. [Excerpts printed in The

Toronto Star, October 10, 1987, p. A4.1

Todd, Paula. "Media watchdog needed to check bias, Scott says." Toronto Star, June 28, 1987, p. A24.

Winsor, Hugh. "A Power elite gets it way in Kitchener." The Globe and Mail, February 7, 1972, p 1; p. 8.

\_\_\_\_\_. "How Kitchener's renewal scheme was kept off the Record." The Globe and Mail, February 8, 1972, p. 1; p. 8.

Winter, Jim. Media critic an eye-opener." The Windsor Star, January 21, 1984, p. C9.

Zehr, Leonard. "Publishing up a storm over trade treaty." Wall Street Journal, October 30, 1987.

#### OTHER

Audit Bureau of Circulations, Canadian Daily/Weekly Newspaper Circulation Fact Book, 1970-1988.

Bilodeau, Paul. "Merit pay." Memo from Southern Ontario Newspaper Guild bargaining committee representative to Editorial Department Guild stewards, February 22, 1987.

Breed, Warren. "The newspaperman, news and society." PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1952.

Burgoon, Judee; Burgoon, Michael and Akin, Charles. "What's news? Who decides? And how?" Report on the world of the working journalist conducted for the American Society of Newspaper Editors, May, 1982.

Clarke, Debra. "The significance of mass media ownership for the process of ideological reproduction: The Canadian case." MA dissertation, McMaster University, 1978.

Converse, Jean M. and Presser, Stanley. Survey Questions: Handcrafting the Standard Questionnaire. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1986.

Desbarats, Peter. "Monopoly, media and the community." Notes for a speech to the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, Aug. 23, 1983.

Gavey, Daniel, Edward Jr. "Social control in the television newsroom." PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1971.

Henderson, Ellen. "A study of staff participation in newsroom decision-making." MA thesis, University of South Carolina, 1978.

- Honderich, Beland H. Interview with the author, August 25, 1988.
- "Knight-Ridder employees find a better way." Knight-Ridder News, Spring, 1988, p. 1.
- McBride, Catherine. "The role of the press in public opinion information: The rise and fall of Frank Miller." MA dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1986.
- Meyer, Philip. "Editors, publishers and newspaper ethics." A report to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April, 1983.
- Mintz, Morton. "Professionalism in the newsroom." Notes for speech to the Consumer Journalism Conference, May 18, 1972.
- MOIRI Research Inc. "Newspaper credibility: Building reader trust." A national study commissioned by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April, 1985.
- "Newspaper credibility; 206 practical approaches to heighten reader trust." Special report of the Credibility Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April, 1986.
- Norusis, Marija, J. SPSS/PC +V2.0 BaseManual. (Chicago: SPSS Inc., 1988).
- Paddón, Donald W. "A survey of newspaper journalists to determine 'participant' and 'neutral' attitudes about news gathering." MA research paper, University of Western Ontario, 1982.
- Joseph, Ted. "Daily newspaper reporters and editors preferences for decision-making and existing decision-making practices." PhD dissertation, Ohio University, 1980. See also, Journalism Quarterly 59 (Summer 1982): 219-222.
- Satiron, Minko, ed. An Annotated Bibliography of Works and Daily Newspapers in Canada, 1914-1983. Montreal: Metropole Lith, 1987.
- Soderlund, Walter C., and Surlin, Stuart H. "Media Portrayals of Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of Grenada: A Balance Theory Hypothesis." Paper presented to the Intercultural Communication Conference on Latin America and the Caribbean, Miami, Florida, February, 1986.
- Timson, Ray. Executive Editor, The Toronto Star. Letter to the author dated June 10, 1988.
- Toronto Star. Editorial Handbook, compiled by David O'Toole,

1985.

Torstar Corporation, Annual Report, 1986.

White Sandy. [Assistant to David Lawrence Jr., president and publisher, The Detroit Free Press]. Telephone interview, April 13, 1988.

PREVIOUSLY COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL  
IN APPENDIX A, PAGE 328 WAS NOT  
MICROFILMED.

LE TEXTE DEJA PROTEGE PAR LE  
DROIT D'AUTEUR, PAGE 328 DANS  
"APPENDIX A", N'A PAS ETE  
MICROFILME.

PLEASE REFER, IF NEED BE, TO  
THE ORIGINAL THESIS DEPOSITED  
WITH THE UNIVERSITY CONFERRING  
THE DEGREE OR TO THE FOLLOWING  
PUBLICATION:

VEUILLEZ VOUS REFERER AU BESOIN  
A LA THESE ORIGINALE DEPOSEE A  
L'UNIVERSITE QUI A CONFERE LE  
GRADE OU A LA PUBLICATION  
SUIVANTE:

A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES FOR CANADIAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS  
ADOPTED BY THE CANADIAN DAILY NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION,  
APRIL, 1977.

PREVIOUSLY COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL  
IN APPENDIX B, PAGES 330-333,  
WAS NOT MICROFILMED.

PLEASE REFER, IF NEED BE, TO  
THE ORIGINAL THESIS DEPOSITED  
WITH THE UNIVERSITY CONFERRING  
THE DEGREE OR TO THE FOLLOWING  
PUBLICATION:

LE TEXTE DEJA PROTEGE PAR LE  
DROIT D'AUTEUR, PAGES 330-333  
DANS "APPENDIX B", N'A PAS ETE  
MICROFILME.

VEUILLEZ VOUS REFERER AU BESOIN  
A LA THESE ORIGINALE DEPOSEE A  
L'UNIVERSITE QUI A CONFERE LE  
GRADE OU A LA PUBLICATION  
SUIVANTE:

POLICY MANUAL  
COPYRIGHT THE TORONTO STAR, 1985  
19 DECEMBER 1969  
REVISED 30 APRIL 1985

---

PREVIOUSLY COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL  
IN APPENDIX C, PAGE 335, WAS  
NOT MICROFILMED.

LE TEXTE DEJA PROTEGE PAR LE  
DROIT D'AUTEUR, PAGE 335 DANS  
"APPENDIX C", N'A PAS ETE  
MICROFILME.

PLEASE REFER, IF NEED BE, TO  
THE ORIGINAL THESIS DEPOSITED  
WITH THE UNIVERSITY CONFERRING  
THE DEGREE OR TO THE FOLLOWING  
PUBLICATION:

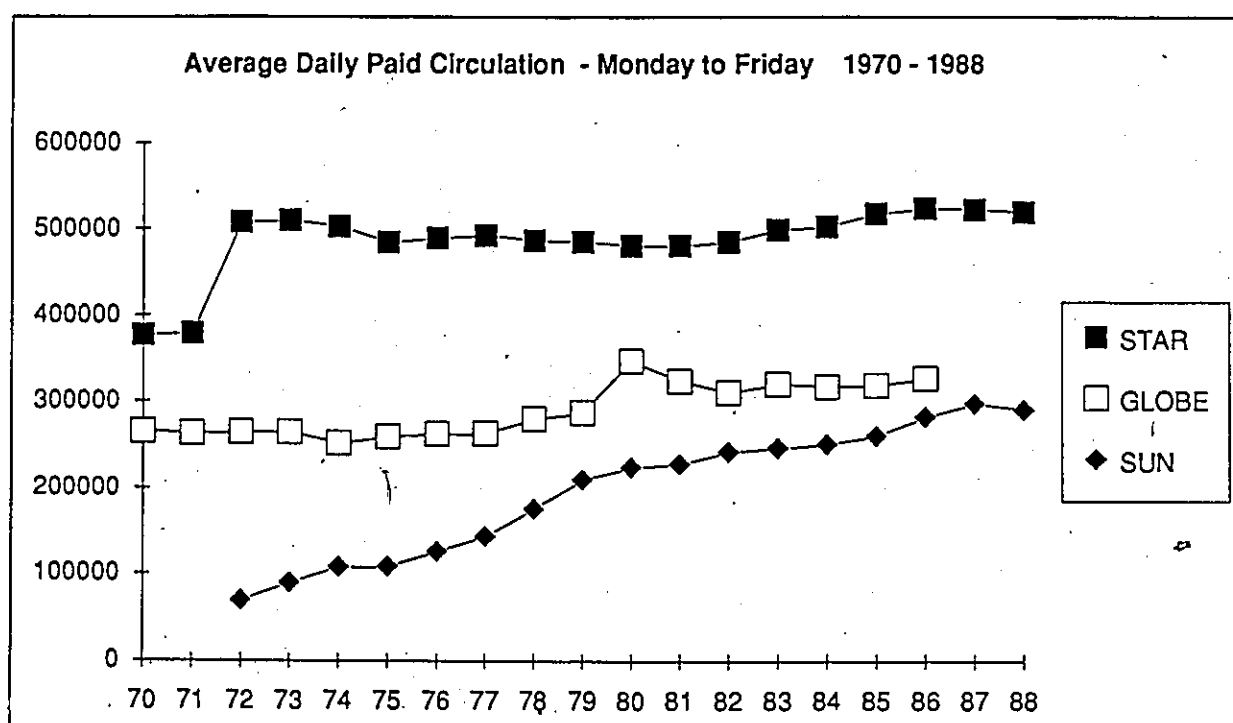
VEUILLEZ VOUS REFERER AU BESOIN  
A LA THESE ORIGINALE DEPOSEE A  
L'UNIVERSITE QUI A CONFERE LE  
GRADE OU A LA PUBLICATION  
SUIVANTE:

TORONTO STAR STATEMENT OF AIMS,  
AS SUBMITTED TO THE DAVEY COMMITTEE.

APPENDIX D

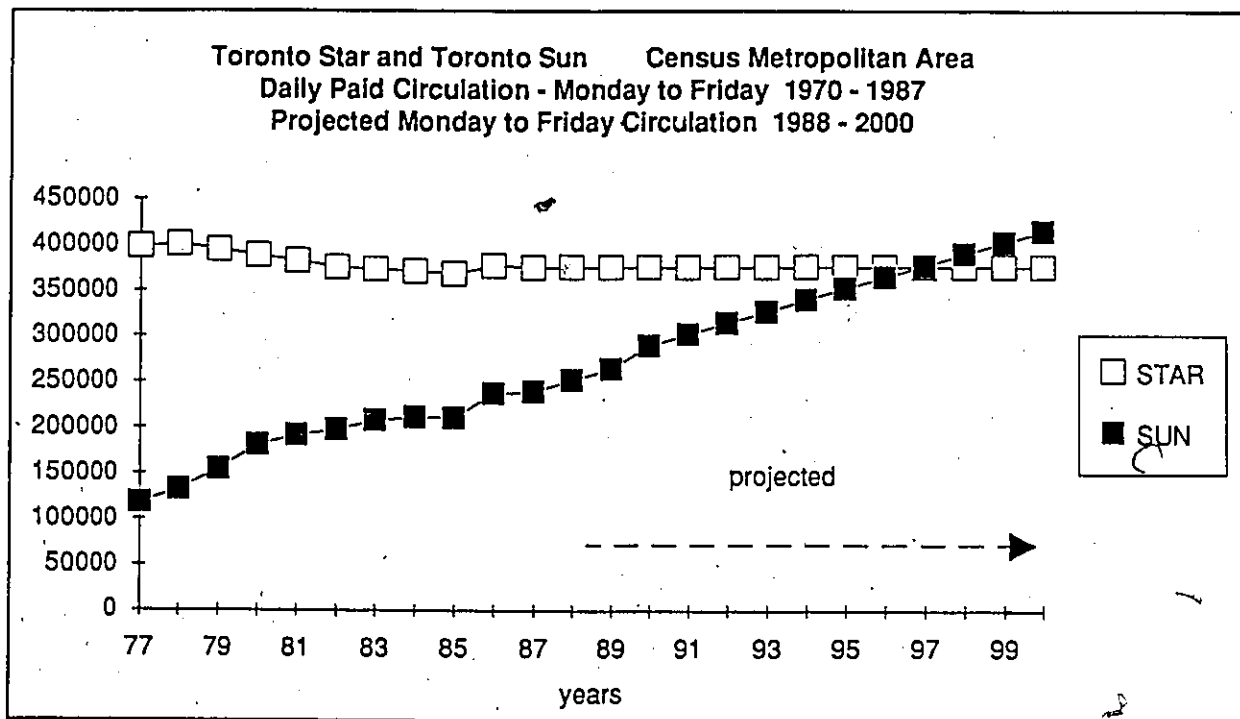
TORONTO STAR, TORONTO SUN AND GLOBE AND MAIL CIRCULATION





APPENDIX E

TORONTO STAR AND TORONTO SUN CIRCULATION  
IN THE CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA



APPENDIX F

THE QUESTIONNAIRE



## UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR

Dear Toronto Star employees:

Please take a few minutes to complete the attached questionnaire. Your name is not required and anonymity is guaranteed.

I work at The Star (copy editor, city desk) but this questionnaire has nothing to do with my job. This study is being done in the interest of academic research and is completely independent of The Toronto Star.

Your co-operation will help me gather information for a graduate-level thesis in Communication Studies at the University of Windsor.

It will also be an opportunity for you to reflect on your work at the Toronto Star, an exercise often set aside in the hurly-burly of getting the paper out every day. That is why I have mailed the questionnaire to your home.

I am researching factors that influence newsroom decision-making by reporters and editors.

There are no trick questions. There are no right or wrong answers. The questionnaire allows you to answer in private and anonymously.

Please try to answer all questions, but if one does not apply to you, put a line through the question and go on.

Please complete the questionnaire as soon as you can and return it to me in the enclosed stamped envelope.

Thank you very much for your help. I am dependent on you to help provide information in an area that has received little study. The purpose of my thesis is to shed light on the general operation of newspapers, not to specifically evaluate The Toronto Star.

Sincerely,

Joe Fox

# DEFINITIONS

This study is mainly concerned with news stories, rather than editorials and personal opinion columns.

The term news policy means the more-or-less consistent orientation shown by a news organization toward various issues and interests in its news columns.

## QUESTIONNAIRE

### Section A

CIRCLE THE NUMBER BESIDE THE ANSWER AT RIGHT THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOU. THIS INFORMATION WILL BE USED TO COMPARE ANSWERS FROM DIFFERENT GROUPS OF PEOPLE.

1. Are you a management or non-management employee?
 

Management	1
Non-management	2
2. What job do you do?
 

Editor	1
Writer	2
Others	
3. What division do you work for?
 

Administrative	1
News Desk	2
City Desk/Sat./Sun.	3
National Desk	4
Foreign Desk	5
Business	6
Life	7
Sports	8
Others	
4. Are you male or female?
 

Male	1
Female	2
5. Please indicate your age?
 

Under 20	1
20-30	2
30-40	3
40-50	4
50-60	5
Over 60	6
6. What is the highest level of education you attended?
 

High School	1
Community college	2
University	3
Graduate school	4
7. Did you graduate?
 

Yes	1
No	2

8. How many years experience do you have as a journalist?

Less than 1 year 1  
1-5 2  
6-10 3  
11-15 4  
16-20 5  
21-25 6  
More than 25 7

9. How many years have you worked at The Toronto Star?

Less than 1 year 1  
2-3 2  
4-5 3  
6-10 4  
More than 10 5

### Section B

PLEASE RESPOND TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS BY CIRCLING THE NUMBER ON THE SCALE AT RIGHT THAT BEST REFLECTS HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT THE STATEMENTS. A HIGH NUMBER MEANS YOU AGREE; A LOW NUMBER MEANS YOU DISAGREE.

	Strongly Agree								Strongly Disagree							
10. I enjoy being a journalist.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1								
11. I enjoy working at The Star	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1								
12. I am proud of The Star's editorial product.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1								
13. Morale is high in The Star's editorial department.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1								
14. I am paid fairly.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1								
15. I feel part of a team with the common goal of getting news and presenting it well.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1								
16. I do my best to be objective when writing or editing news stories.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1								
17. I feel I have little say in the final editorial content of the paper.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1								

	Strongly Agree					Strongly Disagree			
18. I would like to see more "give and take" between editors and reporters.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
19. Staffers should be consulted more than at present on decisions that affect news coverage.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
20. No matter how much staff participation is allowed in newsroom decision-making, the final decision should rest with management.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	

## SECTION C

PURPOSE OF THIS SECTION IS TO SEE WHAT YOUR MAIN CONCERN IS WHEN YOU MAKE DECISIONS ABOUT NEWS; THAT IS, WHOM YOU TRY TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT MOST WHEN YOU DO YOUR JOB. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER ON THE RIGHT THAT BEST INDICATES HOW IMPORTANT DIFFERENT AUDIENCES ARE TO YOU WHEN WRITING AND EDITING STORIES, WHERE A HIGH NUMBER INDICATES GREAT IMPORTANCE AND A LOW NUMBER INDICATES LITTLE IMPORTANCE.

	Very Important					Not very Important			
21. The publisher.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
22. Senior editors.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
23. My immediate superior.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
24. My co-workers.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
25. Other journalists not at The Star.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
26. Newsmakers involved with the story concerned.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
27. Decision-makers in government and the community.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
28. General readers	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	



SECTION E

PLEASE RESPOND TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS BY CIRCLING THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER ON THE SCALE AT RIGHT WHERE 8 MEANS VERY OFTEN AND 1 MEANS NEVER.

	VERY OFTEN							NEVER
47. I read The Toronto Star.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
48. I read The Toronto Star's editorial page.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
49. I have talked to the publisher.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
50. I have discussed news policy with the publisher.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
51. I have reported/edited a story differently than I feel it should be reported or edited.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
52. I agree with the content of The Star's news policy.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
53. Leads are substantially re-written.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
54. Stories are substantially re-written.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
55. Reporters complain when they disagree with the way their copy has been re-written.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
56. Stories are assigned because those stories conform to news policy.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
57. Stories are not assigned because those stories conflict with news policy.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
58. Stories are re-written to conform to news policy.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

	8							
	VERY OFTEN				NEVER			
59. Stories on some topics are assigned to reporters whose views are known to conform to news policy.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
60. Headlines are written to conform to news policy.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
61. Stories that reflect news policy are given more prominent placement than warranted by news value.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
62. I have been criticized by superiors for writing or editing decisions that violated news policy.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
63. Editor's discussions with reporters about assignments include suggestions about what angle to play up.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
64. Senior editors' discussions with more junior editors include suggestions about angles in stories to play up.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
65. I agree with the editorial position The Star takes on various issues.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
66. Star staffers are assigned to different jobs over disagreements about news policy.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
67. Staffers are expected to write and edit stories to conform to news policy.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
68. I have objected to superiors when I disagreed with story topics, angles, editing or placement.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
69. Story ideas originate with reporters.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

9

	Very Often				Never			
70. Story ideas originate with editors.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
71. Reporters control assignments by not telling editors about information gathered from news sources.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
72. Reporters "plant" stories with reporters from competing news organizations.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
73. Beat reporters are self-assigning.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
74. Bureau staff members have little contact with head office.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
75. Bureau staff members are directed from head office when news policy stories are involved.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
76. Reporters who have attained "star" status are able to write stories that do not conform to policy.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

PART F

PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER AT RIGHT THAT BEST ANSWERS THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

77. What political philosophy is generally given favorable treatment by The Star's news policy.
1. Far left
  2. Left
  3. Centrist
  4. Right
  5. Far right
  6. Other
78. What is your personal political philosophy?
1. Far left
  2. Left
  3. Centrist
  4. Right
  5. Far right
  6. Other

10

PART G

THE FOLLOWING ARE OPEN QUESTIONS. USE THE BLANK PAGE AT THE END OR ADDITIONAL SHEETS OF PAPER IF YOU WISH.

79. Do you have any personal experiences that illustrate how you or others learned about The Star's news policy?

80. Question 51 asked how often you write or edit stories differently than you feel they ought to be written or edited. Please explain why you feel this way.

81. Is there anything you would like to add that would help me understand what affects decision-making in the newsroom?



## UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR

Dear Toronto Star Employee:

This is a request for you to fill out the questionnaire I mailed you recently about decisions affecting newsroom decision-making.

If you have already returned the questionnaire in the envelope provided, thank you very much.

If you have not, I would be very grateful if you would do so.

I am dependent on your co-operation to make this project a success and will be happy to share the findings, as reflected in my study, to anyone who is interested.

If you have misplaced the questionnaire, please contact me and I will send you another. My phone number is 762-0973.

Sincerely,

Joe Fox

DEMOGRAPHIC VALUES

Questions 1-9

Q1 Are you a management or non-management employee?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MANAGEMENT	1	3	2.9	2.9	2.9
NON-MANAGEMENT	2	99	96.1	97.1	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	
Valid Cases	102	Missing Cases	1		

Q2 What job do you do?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
EDITOR	1	37	35.9	35.9	35.9
WRITER	2	63	61.2	61.2	97.1
BOTH	3	2	1.9	1.9	99.0
	7	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	
Valid Cases	103	Missing Cases	0		

Q3 What division do you work for?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
ADMINISTRATIVE	1	2	1.9	2.0	2.0
NEWS DESK	2	1	1.0	1.0	3.1
CITY DESK/SAT./SUN.	3	47	45.6	48.0	51.0
NATIONAL DESK	4	9	8.7	9.2	60.2
FOREIGN DESK	5	7	6.8	7.1	67.3
BUSINESS	6	6	5.8	6.1	73.5
LIFE	7	9	8.7	9.2	82.7
SPORTS	8	8	7.8	8.2	90.8
OTHER	9	9	8.7	9.2	100.0
	.	5	4.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	
Valid Cases	98	Missing Cases	5		

4 Are you male or female?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MALE	1	69	67.0	67.0	67.0
FEMALE	2	34	33.0	33.0	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	
Valid Cases	103	Missing Cases	0		

5 Please indicate your age.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
10-30	2	17	16.5	16.8	16.8
30-40	3	48	46.6	47.5	64.4
40-50	4	22	21.4	21.8	86.1
50-60	5	9	8.7	8.9	95.0
OVER 60	6	5	4.9	5.0	100.0
		2	1.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	
Valid Cases	101	Missing Cases	2		

6 What is the highest level of education you attended?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
HIGH SCHOOL	1	8	7.8	7.8	7.8
COMMUNITY COLLEGE	2	7	6.8	6.8	14.6
UNIVERSITY	3	66	64.1	64.1	78.6
GRADUATE SCHOOL	4	22	21.4	21.4	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	
Valid Cases	103	Missing Cases	0		



7 Did you graduate?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	82	79.6	80.4	80.4
NO	2	19	18.4	19.6	99.0
	3	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 102 Missing Cases 1

8 How many years experience do you have as a journalist?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
-5	2	13	12.6	12.6	12.6
-10	3	23	22.3	22.3	35.0
1-15	4	22	21.4	21.4	56.3
6-20	5	18	17.5	17.5	73.8
1-25	6	12	11.7	11.7	85.4
MORE THAN 25	7	15	14.6	14.6	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

9 How many years have you worked at The Toronto Star?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
LESS THAN 1 YEAR	1	8	7.8	7.8	7.8
1-3	2	19	18.4	18.6	26.5
4-5	3	13	12.6	12.7	39.2
6-10	4	26	25.2	25.5	64.7
MORE THAN 10	5	35	34.0	34.3	99.0
	8	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 102 Missing Cases 1

OVER-ALL FREQUENCIES AND MEAN VALUES

QUESTIONS 10-78

Mean  
Value

10 I enjoy being a journalist.

7.2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	4	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
	5	3	2.9	2.9	3.9
	6	22	21.4	21.4	25.2
	7	28	27.2	27.2	52.4
TRONGLY AGREE	8	49	47.6	47.6	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

11 I enjoy working at The Star.

6.0

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
TRONGLY DISAGREE	1	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
	2	4	3.9	3.9	4.9
	3	3	2.9	2.9	7.8
	4	6	5.8	5.8	13.6
	5	15	14.6	14.6	28.2
	6	34	33.0	33.0	61.2
	7	22	21.4	21.4	82.5
TRONGLY AGREE	8	18	17.5	17.5	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

12 I am proud of The Star's editorial product.

5.5

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
TRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	1.9	1.9	1.9
	2	4	3.9	3.9	5.8
	3	3	2.9	2.9	8.7
	4	12	11.7	11.7	20.4
	5	24	23.3	23.3	43.7
	6	32	31.1	31.1	74.8
	7	18	17.5	17.5	92.2
TRONGLY AGREE	8	8	7.8	7.8	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q13 Morale is high in The Star's editorial department.

4.0

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	9	8.7	8.8	8.8
	2	15	14.6	14.7	23.5
	3	14	13.6	13.7	37.3
	4	17	16.5	16.7	53.9
	5	25	24.3	24.5	78.4
	6	17	16.5	16.7	95.1
	7	3	2.9	2.9	98.0
STRONGLY AGREE	8	2	1.9	2.0	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 102 Missing Cases 1

Q14 I am paid fairly.

5.6

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	6	5.8	5.8	5.8
	2	3	2.9	2.9	8.7
	3	5	4.9	4.9	13.6
	4	7	6.8	6.8	20.4
	5	20	19.4	19.4	39.8
	6	24	23.3	23.3	63.1
	7	25	24.3	24.3	87.4
STRONGLY AGREE	8	13	12.6	12.6	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q15 I feel part of a team with the common goal of getting the news and presenting it well.

5.2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	4	3.9	3.9	3.9
	2	8	7.8	7.8	11.7
	3	7	6.8	6.8	18.4
	4	10	9.7	9.7	28.2
	5	22	21.4	21.4	49.5
	6	23	22.3	22.3	71.8
	7	23	22.3	22.3	94.2
STRONGLY AGREE	8	6	5.8	5.8	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q16 I do my best to be objective when writing or editing news stories. 7.1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
	2	1	1.0	1.0	2.0
	3	1	1.0	1.0	3.0
	4	3	2.9	3.0	6.0
	5	3	2.9	3.0	9.0
	6	10	9.7	10.0	19.0
	7	29	28.2	29.0	48.0
STRONGLY AGREE	8	52	50.5	52.0	100.0
	.	3	2.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 100 Missing Cases 3

Q17 I feel I have little say in the final editorial content of the paper. 5.4

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	7	6.8	6.8	6.8
	2	4	3.9	3.9	10.7
	3	13	12.6	12.6	23.3
	4	7	6.8	6.8	30.1
	5	12	11.7	11.7	41.7
	6	21	20.4	20.4	62.1
	7	15	14.6	14.6	76.7
STRONGLY AGREE	8	24	23.3	23.3	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q18 I would like to see more "give and take" between editors and reporters. 6.4

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	2	2	1.9	1.9	1.9
	3	4	3.9	3.9	5.8
	4	6	5.8	5.8	11.7
	5	16	15.5	15.5	27.2
	6	24	23.3	23.3	50.5
	7	16	15.5	15.5	66.0
	8	35	34.0	34.0	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q19 Staffers should be consulted more than at present on decisions that affect news coverage.

6.3

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	1.9	1.9	1.9
	2	4	3.9	3.9	5.8
	3	5	4.9	4.9	10.7
	4	2	1.9	1.9	12.6
	5	16	15.5	15.5	28.2
	6	20	19.4	19.4	47.6
	7	21	20.4	20.4	68.0
STRONGLY AGREE	8	33	32.0	32.0	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q20 No matter how much staff participation is allowed in newsroom decision-making, the final decision should rest with management.

5.8

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	12	11.7	11.7	11.7
	2	4	3.9	3.9	15.5
	3	6	5.8	5.8	21.4
	4	3	2.9	2.9	24.3
	5	7	6.8	6.8	31.1
	6	16	15.5	15.5	46.6
	7	24	23.3	23.3	69.9
STRONGLY AGREE	8	31	30.1	30.1	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q21 How important is the publisher to you when you write or edit stories?

3.3

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT VERY IMPORTANT	1	34	33.0	33.0	33.0
	2	15	14.6	14.6	47.6
	3	11	10.7	10.7	58.3
	4	8	7.8	7.8	66.0
	5	14	13.6	13.6	79.6
	6	9	8.7	8.7	88.3
	7	5	4.9	4.9	93.2
VERY IMPORTANT	8	7	6.8	6.8	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Mean  
value

Q22 How important to you are senior editors when you write and edit stories? 4.7

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT VERY IMPORTANT	1	12	11.7	11.7	11.7
	2	13	12.6	12.6	24.3
	3	7	6.8	6.8	31.1
	4	14	13.6	13.6	44.7
	5	10	9.7	9.7	54.4
	6	21	20.4	20.4	74.8
	7	12	11.7	11.7	86.4
VERY IMPORTANT	8	14	13.6	13.6	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q23 How important to you is your immediate superior when you write and edit stories? 5.6

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT VERY IMPORTANT	1	5	4.9	4.9	4.9
	2	2	1.9	1.9	6.8
	3	9	8.7	8.7	15.5
	4	12	11.7	11.7	27.2
	5	16	15.5	15.5	42.7
	6	19	18.4	18.4	61.2
	7	14	13.6	13.6	74.8
VERY IMPORTANT	8	26	25.2	25.2	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q24 How important to you are your co-workers when you write and edit stories? 4.1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT VERY IMPORTANT	1	22	21.4	21.4	21.4
	2	9	8.7	8.7	30.1
	3	12	11.7	11.7	41.7
	4	13	12.6	12.6	54.4
	5	16	15.5	15.5	69.9
	6	16	15.5	15.5	85.4
	7	6	5.8	5.8	91.3
VERY IMPORTANT	8	9	8.7	8.7	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Mean  
value

25 How important are other journalists not working at The Star to you when you write and edit stories? 2.6

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT VERY IMPORTANT	1	45	43.7	44.1	44.1
	2	17	16.5	16.7	60.8
	3	13	12.6	12.7	73.5
	4	7	6.8	6.9	80.4
	5	9	8.7	8.8	89.2
	6	7	6.8	6.9	96.1
	7	3	2.9	2.9	99.0
VERY IMPORTANT	8	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 102 Missing Cases 1

26 How important are newsmakers involved with the story to you when you write and edit stories? 4.4

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT VERY IMPORTANT	1	15	14.6	14.6	14.6
	2	7	6.8	6.8	21.4
	3	15	14.6	14.6	35.9
	4	17	16.5	16.5	52.4
	5	13	12.6	12.6	65.0
	6	17	16.5	16.5	81.6
	7	12	11.7	11.7	93.2
VERY IMPORTANT	8	7	6.8	6.8	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

27 How important are decision-makers in government and the community to you when you write and edit stories? 3.4

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT VERY IMPORTANT	1	31	30.1	30.4	30.4
	2	10	9.7	9.8	40.2
	3	19	18.4	18.6	58.8
	4	7	6.8	6.9	65.7
	5	11	10.7	10.8	76.5
	6	14	13.6	13.7	90.2
	7	7	6.8	6.9	97.1
VERY IMPORTANT	8	3	2.9	2.9	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 102 Missing Cases 1



Q28 How important are general readers to you when you write and edit stories?

7.4

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	3	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
	4	2	1.9	1.9	2.9
	5	3	2.9	2.9	5.8
	6	13	12.6	12.6	18.4
	7	15	14.6	14.6	33.0
VERY IMPORTANT	8	69	67.0	67.0	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q29 The Toronto Star has a news policy.

6.4

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	1.9	1.9	1.9
	2	2	1.9	1.9	3.9
	3	2	1.9	1.9	5.8
	4	6	5.8	5.8	11.7
	5	12	11.7	11.7	23.3
	6	23	22.3	22.3	45.6
	7	25	24.3	24.3	69.9
STRONGLY AGREE	8	31	30.1	30.1	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q30 New newsroom staffers learn the "news policy" through the grapevine by talking to more experienced staffers.

6.5

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	1.9	2.0	2.0
	3	1	1.0	1.0	3.0
	4	8	7.8	8.0	11.0
	5	12	11.7	12.0	23.0
	6	19	18.4	19.0	42.0
	7	29	28.2	29.0	71.0
STRONGLY AGREE	8	29	28.2	29.0	100.0
	.	3	2.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 100 Missing Cases 3

Mean  
value

Q31 When my stories, headlines or layouts are changed, I learn from the changes and apply what I learn to my work in the future.

5.8

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	8	7.8	7.8	7.8
	3	6	5.8	5.9	13.7
	4	11	10.7	10.8	24.5
	5	15	14.6	14.7	39.2
	6	21	20.4	20.6	59.8
	7	20	19.4	19.6	79.4
STRONGLY AGREE	8	21	20.4	20.6	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 102 Missing Cases 1

Q32 My superiors have formally indicated to me what The Star's news policy is in general.

2.8

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	44	42.7	43.1	43.1
	2	17	16.5	16.7	59.8
	3	12	11.7	11.8	71.6
	4	9	8.7	8.8	80.4
	5	4	3.9	3.9	84.3
	6	3	2.9	2.9	87.3
	7	5	4.9	4.9	92.2
STRONGLY AGREE	8	8	7.8	7.8	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 102 Missing Cases 1

Q33 My superiors have formally indicated to me what The Star's news policy is about specific stories.

3.2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	39	37.9	38.2	38.2
	2	17	16.5	16.7	54.9
	3	8	7.8	7.8	62.7
	4	7	6.8	6.9	69.6
	5	7	6.8	6.9	76.5
	6	11	10.7	10.8	87.3
	7	6	5.8	5.9	93.1
STRONGLY AGREE	8	7	6.8	6.9	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 102 Missing Cases 1

Q34 My superiors have informally indicated to me what The Star's news policy is in general.

5.1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	12	11.7	11.8	11.8
	2	5	4.9	4.9	16.7
	3	7	6.8	6.9	23.5
	4	12	11.7	11.8	35.3
	5	11	10.7	10.8	46.1
	6	25	24.3	24.5	70.6
	7	11	10.7	10.8	81.4
STRONGLY AGREE	8	19	18.4	18.6	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 102 Missing Cases 1

Q35 My superiors have informally indicated to me what The Star's news policy is about specific stories.

5.1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	14	13.6	13.7	13.7
	2	6	5.8	5.9	19.6
	3	6	5.8	5.9	25.5
	4	9	8.7	8.8	34.3
	5	15	14.6	14.7	49.0
	6	21	20.4	20.6	69.6
	7	12	11.7	11.8	81.4
STRONGLY AGREE	8	19	18.4	18.6	100.0
	.		1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 102 Missing Cases 1

Q36 The publisher has the right to influence the amount and content of news coverage in areas he feels are important.

5.0

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	18	17.5	17.5	17.5
	2	5	4.9	4.9	22.3
	3	10	9.7	9.7	32.0
	4	6	5.8	5.8	37.9
	5	13	12.6	12.6	50.5
	6	18	17.5	17.5	68.0
	7	8	7.8	7.8	75.7
STRONGLY AGREE	8	25	24.3	24.3	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q37 "Policy stories" mostly originate in the publisher's office

5.7

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	6	5.8	6.1	6.1
	2	2	1.9	2.0	8.1
	3	7	6.8	7.1	15.2
	4	9	8.7	9.1	24.2
	5	18	17.5	18.2	42.4
	6	18	17.5	18.2	60.6
	7	17	16.5	17.2	77.8
STRONGLY AGREE	8	22	21.4	22.2	100.0
	.	4	3.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 99 Missing Cases 4

Q38 The publisher's influence is the most significant factor in determining The Star's news policy.

6.1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	5	4.9	5.0	5.0
	2	5	4.9	5.0	10.0
	3	1	1.0	1.0	11.0
	4	13	12.6	13.0	24.0
	5	9	8.7	9.0	33.0
	6	13	12.6	13.0	46.0
	7	20	19.4	20.0	66.0
STRONGLY AGREE	8	34	33.0	34.0	100.0
	.	3	2.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 100 Missing Cases 3

Q39 I conform to news policy out of respect for my superiors

3.2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	32	31.1	32.7	32.7
	2	17	16.5	17.3	50.0
	3	10	9.7	10.2	60.2
	4	8	7.8	8.2	68.4
	5	10	9.7	10.2	78.6
	6	13	12.6	13.3	91.8
	7	3	2.9	3.1	94.9
STRONGLY AGREE	8	5	4.9	5.1	100.0
	.	5	4.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 98 Missing Cases 5

Q41 Reporters who willingly conform to Star news policy are given better assignments.

4.6

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	16	15.5	17.0	17.0
	2	10	9.7	10.6	27.7
	3	3	2.9	3.2	30.9
	4	12	11.7	12.8	43.6
	5	11	10.7	11.7	55.3
	6	18	17.5	19.1	74.5
	7	11	10.7	11.7	86.2
STRONGLY AGREE	8	13	12.6	13.8	100.0
	.	9	8.7	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 94 Missing Cases 9

Q41 Guidelines about news policy are not rigid.

5.3

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	4	3.9	4.1	4.1
	2	2	1.9	2.0	6.1
	3	16	15.5	16.3	22.4
	4	9	8.7	9.2	31.6
	5	19	18.4	19.4	51.0
	6	21	20.4	21.4	72.4
	7	11	10.7	11.2	83.7
STRONGLY AGREE	8	16	15.5	16.3	100.0
	.	5	4.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 98 Missing Cases 5

Q42 The news policy changes frequently.

4.4

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	6	5.8	6.3	6.3
	2	12	11.7	12.5	18.8
	3	19	18.4	19.8	38.5
	4	12	11.7	12.5	51.0
	5	19	18.4	19.8	70.8
	6	11	10.7	11.5	82.3
	7	6	5.8	6.3	88.5
STRONGLY AGREE	8	11	10.7	11.5	100.0
	.	7	6.8	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 96 Missing Cases 7

Q43 In areas where no news policy has been established by the publisher, editors attempt to set their own news policies.

5.7

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	3	2.9	3.1	3.1
	2	5	4.9	5.2	8.2
	3	5	4.9	5.2	13.4
	4	7	6.8	7.2	20.6
	5	16	15.5	16.5	37.1
	6	27	26.2	27.8	64.9
	7	16	15.5	16.5	81.4
STRONGLY AGREE	8	18	17.5	18.6	100.0
	.	6	5.8	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 97 Missing Cases 6

Q44 There is a tendency to promote people who are seen as likely to go along with news policy.

5.5

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	8	7.8	8.1	8.1
	2	4	3.9	4.0	12.1
	3	5	4.9	5.1	17.2
	4	11	10.7	11.1	28.3
	5	20	19.4	20.2	48.5
	6	12	11.7	12.1	60.6
	7	15	14.6	15.2	75.8
STRONGLY AGREE	8	24	23.3	24.2	100.0
	.	4	3.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 99 Missing Cases 4

Q45 There is nothing wrong with The Star's news policy affecting the content of its news columns.

3.7

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	27	26.2	27.0	27.0
	2	13	12.6	13.0	40.0
	3	11	10.7	11.0	51.0
	4	12	11.7	12.0	63.0
	5	15	14.6	15.0	78.0
	6	7	6.8	7.0	85.0
	7	5	4.9	5.0	90.0
STRONGLY AGREE	8	10	9.7	10.0	100.0
	.	3	2.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 100 Missing Cases 3

Q46 Conditions at The Star keep me from reaching my ideals as a journalist. 4.6

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	20	19.4	19.8	19.8
	2	9	8.7	8.9	28.7
	3	8	7.8	7.9	36.6
	4	5	4.9	5.0	41.6
	5	13	12.6	12.9	54.5
	6	19	18.4	18.8	73.3
	7	12	11.7	11.9	85.1
STRONGLY AGREE	8	15	14.6	14.9	100.0
	.	2	1.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 101 Missing Cases 2

Q47 I read The Toronto Star.

7.6

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
VERY OFTEN	5	3	2.9	2.9	2.9
	6	7	6.8	6.8	9.7
	7	14	13.6	13.6	23.3
	8	79	76.7	76.7	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q48 I read The The Toronto Star's editorial page.

5.3

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	3	2.9	2.9	2.9
	2	14	13.6	13.6	16.5
	3	14	13.6	13.6	30.1
	4	8	7.8	7.8	37.9
	5	11	10.7	10.7	48.5
	6	15	14.6	14.6	63.1
	7	9	8.7	8.7	71.8
VERY OFTEN	8	29	28.2	28.2	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Mean  
values

149 I have talked to the publisher.

2.5

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	47	45.6	45.6	45.6
	2	23	22.3	22.3	68.0
	3	10	9.7	9.7	77.7
	4	6	5.8	5.8	83.5
	5	5	4.9	4.9	88.3
	6	3	2.9	2.9	91.3
VERY OFTEN	8	9	8.7	8.7	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

150 I have discussed news policy with the publisher.

1.6

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	86	83.5	83.5	83.5
	2	5	4.9	4.9	88.3
	3	3	2.9	2.9	91.3
	4	1	1.0	1.0	92.2
	5	2	1.9	1.9	94.2
	6	2	1.9	1.9	96.1
VERY OFTEN	8	4	3.9	3.9	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

151 I have reported/edited a story differently than I felt it should  
be reported or edited.

3.1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	31	30.1	30.1	30.1
	2	13	12.6	12.6	42.7
	3	20	19.4	19.4	62.1
	4	12	11.7	11.7	73.8
	5	16	15.5	15.5	89.3
	6	7	6.8	6.8	96.1
	7	2	1.9	1.9	98.1
VERY OFTEN	8	2	1.9	1.9	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0



Q52 I agree with the content of The Star's news policy.

5.1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	2	1.9	2.0	2.0
	2	4	3.9	4.0	6.1
	3	10	9.7	10.1	16.2
	4	20	19.4	20.2	36.4
	5	32	31.1	32.3	68.7
	6	11	10.7	11.1	79.8
	7	4	3.9	4.0	83.8
VERY OFTEN	8	16	15.5	16.2	100.0
	.	4	3.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 99 Missing Cases 4

Q53 Leads are substantially re-written.

4.3

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	4	3.9	3.9	3.9
	2	16	15.5	15.5	19.4
	3	17	16.5	16.5	35.9
	4	19	18.4	18.4	54.4
	5	14	13.6	13.6	68.0
	6	16	15.5	15.5	83.5
	7	9	8.7	8.7	92.2
VERY OFTEN	8	8	7.8	7.8	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Q54 Stories are substantially re-written.

4.2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	6	5.8	5.8	5.8
	2	21	20.4	20.4	26.2
	3	14	13.6	13.6	39.8
	4	18	17.5	17.5	57.3
	5	18	17.5	17.5	74.8
	6	9	8.7	8.7	83.5
	7	8	7.8	7.8	91.3
VERY OFTEN	8	9	8.7	8.7	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

Mean  
values

355 Reporters complain when they disagree with the way their copy has been re-written.

6.0

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	2	2	1.9	2.0	2.0
	3	6	5.8	5.9	7.9
	4	11	10.7	10.9	18.8
	5	16	15.5	15.8	34.7
	6	26	25.2	25.7	60.4
	7	17	16.5	16.8	77.2
VERY OFTEN	8	23	22.3	22.8	100.0
	.	2	1.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 101 Missing Cases 2

356 Stories are assigned because those stories conform to news policy.

5.0

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	6	5.8	5.9	5.9
	2	6	5.8	5.9	11.8
	3	8	7.8	7.8	19.6
	4	18	17.5	17.6	37.3
	5	19	18.4	18.6	55.9
	6	24	23.3	23.5	79.4
	7	9	8.7	8.8	88.2
VERY OFTEN	8	12	11.7	11.8	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 102 Missing Cases 1

357 Stories are not assigned because those stories conflict with news policy.

4.2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	10	9.7	10.1	10.1
	2	13	12.6	13.1	23.2
	3	14	13.6	14.1	37.4
	4	21	20.4	21.2	58.6
	5	11	10.7	11.1	69.7
	6	15	14.6	15.2	84.8
	7	9	8.7	9.1	93.9
VERY OFTEN	8	6	5.8	6.1	100.0
	.	4	3.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 99 Missing Cases 4

058 Stories are re-written to conform to news policy. 4.5

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	7	6.8	7.0	7.0
	2	12	11.7	12.0	19.0
	3	15	14.6	15.0	34.0
	4	11	10.7	11.0	45.0
	5	19	18.4	19.0	64.0
	6	23	22.3	23.0	87.0
	7	5	4.9	5.0	92.0
VERY OFTEN	8	3	2.9	3.0	100.0
	.	3	2.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 100 Missing Cases 3

059 Stories on some topics are assigned to reporters whose views are known to conform to news policy. 4.8

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	8	7.8	8.8	8.8
	2	10	9.7	11.0	19.8
	3	6	5.8	6.6	26.4
	4	9	8.7	9.9	36.3
	5	21	20.4	23.1	59.3
	6	17	16.5	18.7	78.0
	7	9	8.7	9.9	87.9
VERY OFTEN	8	11	10.7	12.1	100.0
	.	12	11.7	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 91 Missing Cases 12

060 Headlines are written to conform to news policy. 6.4

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	3	2.9	3.1	3.1
	2	5	4.9	5.2	8.3
	3	3	2.9	3.1	11.5
	4	10	9.7	10.4	21.9
	5	19	18.4	19.8	41.7
	6	25	24.3	26.0	67.7
	7	22	21.4	22.9	90.6
VERY OFTEN	8	9	8.7	9.4	100.0
	.	7	6.8	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 96 Missing Cases 7

Mean  
values

Q61 Stories that reflect news policy are given more prominent placement than warranted by news value.

6.4

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	2	1.9	2.0	2.0
	3	2	1.9	2.0	3.9
	4	9	8.7	8.8	12.7
	5	11	10.7	10.8	23.5
	6	22	21.4	21.6	45.1
	7	24	23.3	23.5	68.6
VERY OFTEN	8	32	31.1	31.4	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	
Valid Cases	102	Missing Cases	1		

Q62 I have been criticized by my superiors for writing or editing decisions that violated news policy.

2.1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	61	59.2	59.8	59.8
	2	12	11.7	11.8	71.6
	3	8	7.8	7.8	79.4
	4	10	9.7	9.8	89.2
	5	4	3.9	3.9	93.1
	6	3	2.9	2.9	96.1
	7	2	1.9	2.0	98.0
VERY OFTEN	8	2	1.9	2.0	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	
Valid Cases	102	Missing Cases	1		

Q63 Editors' discussions with reporters about assignments include suggestions about what angles in stories to play up.

6.2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEV	1	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
	3	3	2.9	2.9	3.9
	4	10	9.7	9.8	13.7
	5	8	7.8	7.8	21.6
	6	34	33.0	33.3	54.9
	7	25	24.3	24.5	79.4
VERY OFTEN	8	21	20.4	20.6	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	
Valid Cases	102	Missing Cases	1		

354 Senior editors discussions with more junior editors include suggestions about what angles in stories to play up.

6.4

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	3	2	1.9	2.4	2.4
	4	6	5.8	7.3	9.8
	5	8	7.8	9.8	19.5
	6	24	23.3	29.3	48.8
	7	27	26.2	32.9	81.7
VERY OFTEN	8	15	14.6	18.3	100.0
	.	21	20.4	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 82 Missing Cases 21

355 I agree with the editorial position The Star takes on various issues. 5.0

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
	2	5	4.9	4.9	5.8
	3	11	10.7	10.7	16.5
	4	20	19.4	19.4	35.9
	5	27	26.2	26.2	62.1
	6	22	21.4	21.4	83.5
	7	11	10.7	10.7	94.2
VERY OFTEN	8	6	5.8	5.8	100.0
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 103 Missing Cases 0

356 Star staffers are assigned to different jobs over disagreements about news policy.

3.6

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	10	9.7	12.7	12.7
	2	16	15.5	20.3	32.9
	3	11	10.7	13.9	46.8
	4	18	17.5	22.8	69.6
	5	13	12.6	16.5	86.1
	6	9	8.7	11.4	97.5
	7	1	1.0	1.3	98.7
VERY OFTEN	8	1	1.0	1.3	100.0
	.	24	23.3	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 79 Missing Cases 24

357 Staffers are expected to write and edit stories to conform to news policies.

4.7

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	10	9.7	10.3	10.3
	2	5	4.9	5.2	15.5
	3	13	12.6	13.4	28.9
	4	12	11.7	12.4	41.2
	5	17	16.5	17.5	58.8
	6	25	24.3	25.8	84.5
	7	7	6.8	7.2	91.8
VERY OFTEN	8	8	7.8	8.2	100.0
	.	6	5.8	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 97 Missing Cases 6

358 I have objected to superiors when I disagreed with story topics, angles, editing or placement.

5.2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	6	5.8	5.9	5.9
	2	4	3.9	3.9	9.8
	3	10	9.7	9.8	19.6
	4	14	13.6	13.7	33.3
	5	16	15.5	15.7	49.0
	6	30	29.1	29.4	78.4
	7	10	9.7	9.8	88.2
VERY OFTEN	8	12	11.7	11.8	100.0
	.	1	1.0	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 102 Missing Cases 1

359 Story ideas originate with reporters.

5.2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	2	5	4.9	5.0	5.0
	3	11	10.7	10.9	15.8
	4	16	15.5	15.8	31.7
	5	27	26.2	26.7	58.4
	6	19	18.4	18.8	77.2
	7	15	14.6	14.9	92.1
VERY OFTEN	8	8	7.8	7.9	100.0
	.	2	1.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 101 Missing Cases 2

Q70 Story ideas originate with editors.

5.8

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	2	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
	3	2	1.9	2.0	3.0
	4	11	10.7	11.0	14.0
	5	24	23.3	24.0	38.0
	6	31	30.1	31.0	69.0
	7	26	25.2	26.0	95.0
VERY OFTEN	8	5	4.9	5.0	100.0
	.	3	2.9	MISSING	
	TOTAL	103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 100 Missing Cases 3

Q71 Reporters control assignments by not telling editors about information gathered from news sources.

3.9

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	9	8.7	9.8	9.8
	2	16	15.5	17.4	27.2
	3	18	17.5	19.6	46.7
	4	11	10.7	12.0	58.7
	5	17	16.5	18.5	77.2
	6	12	11.7	13.0	90.2
	7	5	4.9	5.4	95.7
VERY OFTEN	8	4	3.9	4.3	100.0
	.	11	10.7	MISSING	
	TOTAL	103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 92 Missing Cases 11

Q72 Reporters "plant" stories with reporters from competing news organizations.

2.4

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	27	26.2	31.0	31.0
	2	33	32.0	37.9	69.0
	3	11	10.7	12.6	81.6
	4	3	2.9	3.4	85.1
	5	8	7.8	9.2	94.3
	6	2	1.9	2.3	96.6
	7	3	2.9	3.4	100.0
	.	16	15.5	MISSING	
	TOTAL	103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 87 Missing Cases 16

073 Beat reporters are self-assigning.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	2	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
	3	3	2.9	3.1	4.1
	4	8	7.8	8.2	12.2
	5	16	15.5	16.3	28.6
	6	30	29.1	30.6	59.2
	7	21	20.4	21.4	80.6
VERY OFTEN	8	19	18.4	19.4	100.0
	.	5	4.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 98 Missing Cases 5

074 Bureau staff members have little contact with head office.

4.8

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	3	2.9	3.4	3.4
	2	6	5.8	6.9	10.3
	3	21	20.4	24.1	34.5
	4	8	7.8	9.2	43.7
	5	14	13.6	16.1	59.8
	6	15	14.6	17.2	77.0
	7	10	9.7	11.5	88.5
VERY OFTEN	8	10	9.7	11.5	100.0
	.	16	15.5	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 87 Missing Cases 16

075 Bureau staff members are directed from head office when news policy stories are involved.

5.5

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	1	1.0	1.2	1.2
	2	2	1.9	2.5	3.7
	3	6	5.8	7.4	11.1
	4	12	11.7	14.8	25.9
	5	17	16.5	21.0	46.9
	6	23	22.3	28.4	75.3
	7	11	10.7	13.6	88.9
VERY OFTEN	8	9	8.7	11.1	100.0
	.	22	21.4	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 81 Missing Cases 22



Q76 Reporters who have attained "star" status are able to write stories that do not conform to policy.

5.2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	1	1.0	1.1	1.1
	2	11	10.7	12.4	13.5
	3	4	3.9	4.5	18.0
	4	12	11.7	13.5	31.5
	5	22	21.4	24.7	56.2
	6	15	14.6	16.9	73.0
	7	13	12.6	14.6	87.6
VERY OFTEN	8	11	10.7	12.4	100.0
	.	14	13.6	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 89 Missing Cases 14

Q77 What political philosophy is generally given favorable treatment by The Star's news policy?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
LEFT	2	33	32.0	33.0	33.0
CENTRIST	3	57	55.3	57.0	90.0
RIGHT	4	9	8.7	9.0	99.0
OTHER	6	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
	.	3	2.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 100 Missing Cases 3

Q78 What is your personal political philosophy?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
FAR LEFT	1	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
LEFT	2	39	37.9	38.6	39.6
CENTRIST	3	53	51.5	52.5	92.1
RIGHT	4	7	6.8	6.9	99.0
OTHER	6	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
	.	2	1.9	MISSING	
TOTAL		103	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 101 Missing Cases 2

VITA AUCTORIS

NAME: Joseph George Fox

BIRTH: April 21, 1947, Guelph, Ont., Canada.

EDUCATION: St. Joseph's Separate School, Guelph, Ont.  
Bishop Macdonnell High School, Guelph, Ont.  
Guelph Collegiate Vocational Institute  
Waterloo Lutheran University, B.A., 1970  
Carleton University, B.J. (Hon), 1971  
University of Windsor, M.A., 1988.

PROFESSIONAL: Reporter, Chatham Bureau, The Windsor Star, 1971-72  
Reporter, Windsor, Ont., The Windsor Star 1972-78  
Queen's Park Bureau, The Windsor Star, 1978-80  
Assistant City Editor, The Windsor Star, 1980-84  
Entertainment Editor, The Windsor Star, 1984-87  
Copy Editor, The Toronto Star, 1987-  
Sessional Instructor in Journalism, University of Windsor, Department of Communication Studies, 1983-1987.

PERSONAL: Married -- Aug. 14, 1971, Guelph, Ont. to Dollina Teresa Finora  
Children -- Allyson, born Oct. 1, 1974  
Matthew, born June 3, 1977  
Martin, born March 14, 1983

ADDRESS: 3 Larkin Ave.,  
Toronto, Ont.  
M6S 1L7.  
(416) 762-0973.